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out of focus

Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.

BODY OF CHRIST "It is not easy, these days, to remember the true content of names. Degenerate enough, that we in the U.S. would have an automobile called Spirit, a cigarette called Merit and a phallic-packaged cosmetic called Love, but that we would have the insensitivity (and sometimes I think it's perversity) to call a nuclear submarine the 'Corpus Christi' reaches the depth of covert diabolism. Corpus Christi: Trident Submarine. A black mass. A devilish transubstantiation. They have made His Body into a sub. It's transubstantiation, not of bread and wine, but of a death machine."

—Father John Kavanaugh, S. J. in the St. Louis Review

THE DOOR CLOSSES AGAIN The Justice Department is making it harder for present and former government employees to make information available to the public, in effect imposing severe penalties for any breach of "secrecy" even when such information was disclosed earlier. Attorney General William French Smith's new guidelines enable the Justice Department to penalize employees who publish information on government activities without first clearing it with their supervisors (even if there was no specific agreement to clear the information beforehand) and even when a disclosure involves no classified information.

KHOMEINI STYLE? Phyllis Schlafly has written the introduction to *Anatomy of a White House Conference* (on families) which, she says, explains "the anti-God relationship between feminists and humanists." And the Rev. Jerry Falwell, head of Moral Majority, declared recently that "God could judge America, perhaps with Soviet missiles," unless the nation stops "killing the unborn."

NOT CONDUCTIVE Florissant (Mo.) Councilman James A. Meinert attempted to break new ground not long ago by proposing a redefinition of "family" in that city's occupancy permit law. Prompted by his discovery last spring of 11 homes in which couples had different last names ("This type of living is not conducive to good family environment"). Meinert introduced a bill that would have the effect of preventing, among other things, a brother and sister from living together. The bill was tabled.

WHAT EPIDEMIC? Stories of "epidemic" teenage pregnancy are a "media hype," according to Geraldine Oliva, M.D., medical director of family planning for San Francisco and Alameda County. "If we look at the figures, the trends are the same—dropping birthrates in all age groups," Oliva said. While she did acknowledge increasing sexual activity among teenagers, she said that easy access to contraception and legalized abortion had helped to keep pregnancy rates fairly stable.

CURIOUS Oddities of political life largely overlooked by the national press: Earlier this year the railroad industry and the Republicans were joined in pushing for federal noise control regulations that Democratic members of the House subcommittee tried to eliminate. Fearful that the uniform federal standards could be replaced by varying state or local regulations, the industry turned to committee Republicans, who promptly took steps to reinstate the federal rules.

CURIOUSER Benzidine, long recognized as a human and animal carcinogen by both industry and government, is used as the starting material to produce over 200 dyes. About 30 of these dyes are marketed in the United States while over 30 million two-ounce packages of home fabric dyes are sold each year to American consumers, reports the Carcinogen Information Program. An additional 100 to 300 pounds of these dyes are used each year by artists. (More information is available from Consumer Product Safety Commission, 1111 18th St., N.W. Room 303 Washington, D.C. 20207)

MORE CURIOUSER For the first time in U.S. history the U.S. House overturned a measure passed by the District of Columbia City Council that did not deal with federal issues. It voided a D.C. law which would have nullified penalties for sodomy, adultery and homosexuality.

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letters

Jailed protestors

F/M: Last year the Plowshares Eight (Daniel and Philip Berrigan, Molly Rush, Elmer Maas, Fr. Karl Kabat, John Schuchardt, Ann Montgomery and Dean Hammer) entered General Electric's Pennsylvania nuclear weapons facility, destroying two warhead cones with hammers and pouring their own blood on blueprints as another in a long series of protests against the nuclear threat. After the protest, six of the eight wrote this statement of greeting from jail:

"We believe if we are to accept the challenge of peace, we need more than words and must be willing to vote with our feet and our bodies. It is not an easy task, but faith and God's grace can do what seems humanly impossible. We must act so that our insane and murderous world be called to repentance. If we can imagine the possibility of dashing in front of a moving car to save a little sister or brother we should be able to imagine a response to nuclear insanity and murder. We believe it is not so much a matter of courage as just something that must be done. We also believe it must be done non-violently."

The Plowshares Eight were convicted on some of the charges against them. We believe that to prosecute and now imprison these people is as preposterous as charging someone who snatches a child from a busy intersection with jaywalking. To imprison them would be to silence voices for peace that are sorely needed in these dangerous times. The real indictment in the Plowshares Eight case is against those who are preparing us for nuclear holocaust.

*Scott and Audrey Aronson
Myers, War Resisters
League, St. Louis chapter*

*Michael McIntyre, War Resisters
League, St. Louis
Chapter*

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*Sister Mary Anne McGivern, SL
Dr. Donald Sauer, physician*

*Tim Dunn, Clergy and Laity
Concerned*

*Eldora Spiegelberg, Women's
International League for
Peace and Freedom*

Single issue politician?

F/M: Your article "Can We Afford To Lose Clay?" (Nov. 88) interested me.

Missouri politicians should draw new congressional lines for the best representation of the people regardless of race, creed, sex or political affiliation.

Democrats can no longer take the black voter for granted and vice versa. Former black legislators throughout the country have recently switched to the Republican party where they have been welcomed with open arms.

Your headline could have read "Can We Afford Not To Lose Clay?". After all, aren't elections for determining the will of the people. If the majority of the people vote their conscience rather than their skin color, religion, sex or parent's political affiliation, we might have a better government.

Most Americans wish to eliminate "single issue" politicians from office . . . and rightly so. There are too many questions and issues that require deliberation and thoughtful action. We desperately need legislators who are not beholden to any single group (as blacks, business, unions, women, poor, rich, etc.) so that they can decide on each issue intelligently . . . rather than what is best for one special group.

*Jerome R. Davis
Webster Groves, Missouri*

Townhall democracy

F/M: For the first time in modern history, with a (fairly) fast postal system and automatic machines for tabulating responses to questionnaires, it is possible to give voters a direct, binding vote on the major appropriations

and issues coming before the legislature. A representative has only to print and mail ballots to constituents (say every 60 days) describing legislation expected to come to a vote soon; estimating important policy and cost consequences, and presenting recommended actions. Constituents mark 'yes' or 'no' for each bill, return the ballot—preferably signed, to check authenticity—and the ballots are machine tabulated. The representative votes according to the majority vote of constituents on each bill unless less than (say) 10% showed any preference, in which case the representative votes as he or she likes.

What are the consequences of such a system? The influence of special interests and lobbys which now openly buy votes with massive campaign contributions would be weakened, since a representative bound to a constituent vote no longer 'owns' a vote to sell. The influence of single-issue groups would also be lessened, since a representative could not be held personally responsible for his vote.

The influence of party ideology, bosses, and deals would be weakened by a system which ties the action of representatives to voters, rather than to political parties. Perhaps most important, *all* constituents—all registered voters—would have a voice in spending (their own) public funds, and a voice in passing laws they must live under. The constituent directed voting system would allow a majority of us to rule on *every* major question.

This system would allow representatives to prepare strategies to meet future problems, and to reflect on where we are headed (and where we really want to go), rather than to fight daily battles over how to cut up the government pie.

Why would anyone want to be a representative if he couldn't vote as he pleased? The pay is good, and the platform suggested here may be unbeatable. My vote is waiting.

*Robert Gray
Chicago, Illinois*

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missouri politics

Bolling, author, power broker, lecturer, retires from House

Mao Tse Tung once said power flows from the barrel of a gun. But for Democrat Richard Bolling, power flows from strict adherence to procedure.

After more than 33 years in the U.S. House of Representatives, Citizen Bolling will soon retire. He leaves behind a political legacy marked by shrewd maneuvering, attention to detail and a solid grasp on the use of power.

After an appointment to the House Rules committee in 1955, Bolling quickly recognized that parliamentary procedure frequently determined the outcome of pending legislation. His logic here was simple and direct: to control legislation one must control the structure through which House measures travel.

Bolling observed that some of his more liberal colleagues often stressed rhetoric over procedure, only to watch their measures be dragged down by house procedural minutiae.

In a recent column, Jack Anderson called Bolling one of the most effective members of Congress, noting his use of "cold brainpower." Anderson further noted, however, that Bolling, intolerant of stupidity and occasionally inflated with "self-importance", wasn't exactly a popular member of the House. Bolling acknowledges this and claims he never was very good at "buttering up" his colleagues.

As a young protege of the celebrated house speaker Sam Rayburn, Bolling started off in the right circles. A careful coalition builder, Bolling was embroiled in the tenuous political battles of the early sixties which cul-

minated in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Later he worked for a revamping of House procedure and contributed to its "democratization."

Though Bolling wielded considerable political power, he seemed to lack the personality to go with it. This apparently kept him from becoming House majority leader on two attempts. Even so, Bolling became chairman of the Rules committee in 1979.

After Bolling retires next year, already the author of several books, he



Richard Bolling

will begin work on another book based on his long experience with power in Congress. Few could name a better spokesman.

illinois politics

State primary laws in conflict with Democratic rules

By David W. Wise

At the 1972 Democratic National Convention, challenges against the delegations from 13 of the state's 24 Congressional districts were sustained. This action resulted in the expulsion of 59 elected delegates from the City of Chicago and a vote reduction for 26 delegates from four down-state districts. Arising out of this incident was a landmark decision, *Cousins v. Wigoda*, in which the Supreme Court ruled that *where state law conflicts with the regulations of a political party, the party has a greater interest and that the party rules must prevail*.

At the present time, the Illinois Democratic party stands on precarious footing. The Illinois primary election, as presently constituted, is in conflict with the fairly complex set of party regulations spawned by the various reform commissions which have been convened since the turbulent convention in 1968. While it is true that many of these reforms are deserving of criticism, these reforms are the rules by which the nominating process in the Democratic party is played. The Wigoda decision boldly underlines this fact.

The delegate selection rules in effect for the 1976 convention outlawed those systems in which the winner of the state primary received *all* of the delegates from that state. Those rules also suggested that states which did not have an outright winner-take-all system, but which, in practice, had a winner-take-all consequence in each electoral district, should be corrected through legislative action. The latter system came to be known as the "loophole primary" because states having such a system were exempted

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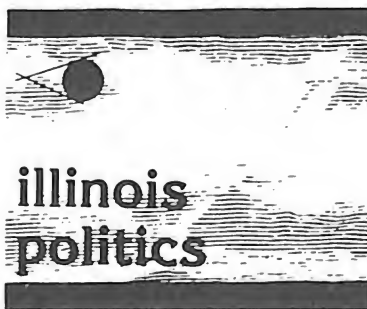
representation. In a primary system such as Illinois, the threshold is computed by dividing 100% by the number of delegates apportioned by the Congressional district. Although President Carter won an overwhelming victory in the 1980 Illinois primary, the results of the election would have been far different had Illinois utilized a system which complied with party regulations.

In the primary conducted on March 18, 1980, President Carter won 140 delegates to just 12 pledged to Senator Kennedy. In 22 of 24 districts, a winner-take-all result occurred. In every one of the districts in the state the runner-up exceeded the threshold for that district, yet in not one instance did the runner-up receive the number of delegates to which he would have been entitled if national party rules had been in effect. In reviewing the results on a Congressional district basis, it would appear that these party laws would have produced 103 delegates for Carter and 49 pledged to Kennedy.

During the next three years, the Illinois Democratic party can bring this state into compliance by either obtaining corrective legislation for the administration of the Democratic party portion of the Illinois primary election, or it can institute a caucus system. Since Illinois has always been a primary state and since primary elections allow for wider public participation, the would seem to be the better option.

In order to convert the primary election to a proportional system, any number of methods could be utilized. One system which is in effect in some states, allows the presidential campaign to rank the delegate candidates pledged to him or her. Assuming that the candidate was entitled to two delegates, the first two names from the list would be elected. Under such a framework, it would not be necessary, although it would be preferable, to have the names of the delegate candidates on the ballot. This is similar to the manner in which presidential electors are chosen.

A second proposal would maintain the current ballot format, but specify that a candidate would receive no more delegates than the number to which he or she is entitled. The delegate candidates would be ranked, not by the presidential campaign staff, but by the voters. This system would have one drawback, in that it would appear that certain candidates would be declared losers in spite of vote totals in excess of some of the winners.



This defect, however, is illusory, since a primary voter is granted a number of votes equal to the number of delegates to be elected. By and large, the delegates on a slate each receive one vote from an identical set of voters, who are merely expressing their presidential preference for a second time on the ballot. This would not be a problem once it is understood that the voters *elect* the delegates when they cast their presidential preference vote and merely *rank* candidates when they vote a preference in the delegate race.

The primary election results in the Twenty-fourth Congressional District are illustrative of the operation of the current system as opposed to the two methods described above. The threshold for receiving proportional delegate representation would be 14.29%. This figure is arrived at by dividing 100% by the number of delegates allotted to the district.

The actual number of delegates allotted is determined by adding up the percentage received by the candidates exceeding the threshold. Carter and Kennedy received 71.13% and 24.64% respectively. Accordingly, President Carter and Senator Kennedy would have each been entitled to delegate representation. These figures add up to 95.77.

The percentage that a candidate possesses of this adjusted figure is then calculated and multiplied against the number of delegates allotted to the district. [Ex. Carter: $71.13 \div 95.77 = .7448$. Seven delegates multiplied by $.7448 = 5.21$ or five delegates] Complex, yes. But this system is the law of the party and is in effect in the majority of Democratic primaries and caucuses throughout the nation.

Twenty-Fourth Congressional District March 18, 1980

Jimmy Carter	41,109	71.13% *
Edward M. Kennedy	14,240	24.64 *
Edmund G. Brown	1,904	3.29
Others	541	.93

[*denotes that the candidate exceeded the threshold of 14.29%]

In the March 18 primary election, all of the delegate candidates pledged to Carter were elected. Had a proportional system been in effect, the results would have been much different. Similarly, the results would have been different under the two proportional systems described above. Assuming that the order of candidate appearance on the ballot would have been the rank given to each candidate by the respective campaign organizations, the first five names of the Carter slate and the first two names on the Kennedy slate would have been elected.

However, allowing the voters to rank the delegates would have substituted the name of John Wasson for Erma Schanafelt as a Kennedy delegate. This raises additional problems under the party charter and by-laws which provide for equal representation for women, but that is another matter outside the purview of this paper.

Article II, Section 2 of the Democratic Party Charter states that: *A State Party may be required to adopt and implement an alternate party-run delegate selection system which does not conflict with these rules, regardless of any provable, positive steps that may have been taken [to seek legislative remedy].*

In view of the Wigoda decision, there can be no doubt of the national party's authority to require an alternative system or to refuse to seat a delegation at the national convention. The mandated party caucus in Michigan is only one example of the Democratic National Committee's willingness to use this authority.

It is not to endorse the party rules, but to merely state a fact, that Illinois must alter the primary election laws insofar as the Democratic party primary is concerned. It is unlikely that another exemption would be forthcoming in 1984, in the face of what would then be eight years of legislative inaction on this matter. We have three years to construct a new system which should be free and fair, open and in compliance with national regulations.

David W. Wise is a graduate student at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. He is a member of the National Credentials Committee of the Democratic party. In 1979 he attended a conference on delegate selection rules at the invitation of the Democratic National Committee. He has been an elected member of the Illinois delegation to the 1972 and 1976 conventions.

from challenge in 1976 if they were unable to obtain the passage of corrective legislation.

The Illinois primary election falls into the classification of a "loophole primary," because the popular vote winner in each Congressional district generally carries all of the delegates pledged to him in that district. After the 1976 convention, all of the party organizations in states with such a system were required to seek legislative remedy. *In Illinois, however, no such remedy was achieved nor did the state party sponsor corrective legislation.* (In the period between the 1976 and 1980 conventions, only one bill aimed at altering the primary election came close to attaining passage. That bill, which was introduced by Senator L. W. Lemke, was tabled in the House and would not have resolved the problems facing the Illinois Democrats even if it had obtained passage. In fact, that bill would have created numerous additional conflicts between state law and party reforms.)

In spite of the lack of progress in producing corrective legislation, the Compliance Review Commission of the Democratic National Committee in 1979 granted Illinois an exemption for 1980. Other states were not so lucky. Michigan, another "loophole

primary" state, was required to run a party-operated caucus in lieu of the primary election provided for under statute. Had Illinois been unsuccessful in obtaining an exemption, the entire delegation to the 1980 national convention would have been in almost certain jeopardy of challenge

from the campaign of Senator Edward Kennedy.

Under party regulations, delegates should be allotted to presidential candidates in proportion to the number of votes they received. Every candidate who exceeds a certain threshold would be entitled to some delegate

Comparison of Primary Methods

Twenty-Fourth Congressional District March 18, 1980

			CAMPAIGN VOTER		
			CURRENT	RANK	RANK
Kenneth J. Gray	(Carter)	40,624	*	*	*
Marie Basler	(Carter)	34,095	*	*	*
Paul L. Myers	(Carter)	34,507	*	*	*
Bernice Covilli	(Carter)	32,614	*	*	*
John S. Jackson, III	(Carter)	32,311	*	*	*
Barbara Leavitt Brown	(Carter)	32,194	*		
Gerald "Jerry" Sinclair	(Carter)	30,424	*		
Paul Simon	(Kennedy)	15,211		*	*
Erma Schanafelt	(Kennedy)	10,715		*	
John Wasson	(Kennedy)	10,807			*
Marge Harmon	(Kennedy)	10,240			
Norman G. Williams	(Kennedy)	9,717			
Bess LaVeau	(Kennedy)	8,219			
David M. Garner	(Kennedy)	7,859			

*denotes that the candidate would have been elected under the particular election system.

[Note: candidates pledged to Brown, LaRouche and those uncommitted to not appear above.]

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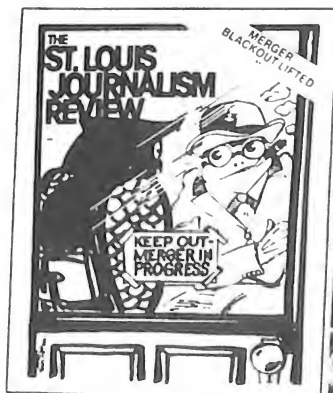
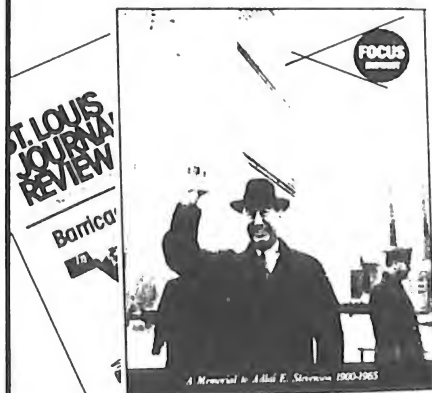
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'81 Cuts will be felt in every county

By John Ballard

The combined enthusiasm and haste that accompanied adoption of tax and budget cuts have left a few loose ends dangling. Not the least among these is consideration of impacts, directly and indirectly.

That elimination of milk at school recesses will save \$169,054,000 in fiscal year 1980, \$4,144,000 in Missouri alone, is impressive. That Greene County dairies may lose \$199,000 in sales presents a slightly different perspective. Complicating the picture further is a complex system of price supports which will require government to purchase milk beyond market demand.

Recent surges of sentiment for tax and service reductions have been aimed primarily at the mysterious "them." California, Michigan and Massachusetts successively have painfully faced publics demanding *their* police or *their* streets or *their* schools be maintained at near status quo while taxes drastically reduce. It is readily evident that in a diverse system of organization "they" at some point become "us." While reductions are indeed possible and probably in order, they cannot come entirely at the expense of others, regardless of one's position.

Table 1 lists, by function, federal dollars spent for fiscal 1980 in Missouri. Figures are rounded in millions. Not included are loans (college students, small business, etc.) and other indirect support.

As might be expected, county totals represent varying mixes of federal agencies and departments, as well as varying mixes of programs within agencies and departments. Consequently, change at the congressional level will impact differently in different counties. The general proposal is for blocking (or grouping) of related programs, with an overall twenty-five percent reduction. On a specific basis some programs are eliminated, some are reduced, some maintained and some increased. A large number have a still uncertain disposition.

Examining individual counties may give an indication of the budget reduction. All figures are from the report "Geographic Distribution of Federal Funds" prepared annually. They are, in most cases, accurate to the county level.

The smallest county, Worth, re-

Table 1:

FEDERAL SPENDING BY FUNCTION IN MISSOURI

FUNCTION	AMOUNT IN MILLIONS
Dept. of Defense-Military	\$4,217
Atomic Energy Defense Activities	260
Foreign Economic & Financial Assistance	9
Conduct of Foreign Affairs	1
General Science & Basic Research	8
Space Science, Applications of Technology	3
Supporting Space Activities	1
Energy Supply	22
Energy Conservation	3
Energy Information, Policy & Regulation	2
Water Resources	37
Conservation & Land Management	36
Recreational Resources	25
Pollution Control & Abatement	168
Other Natural Resources	31
Farm Income Stabilization	466
Agricultural Research & Services	34
Mortgage Credit & Thrift Insurance	52
Postal Service	446
Other Commerce	26
Ground Transportation	287
Air Transportation	94
Water Transportation	17
Other Transportation	1
Community Development	117
Area & Regional Development	50
Disaster Relief & Insurance	2
Education, Training, Employment, Social Svcs.	34
Federal Litigative & Judicial Activities	5
Elem. Sec. & Vocational Education	115
Higher Education	67
Research & General Education Aids	11
Training & Employment	184
Other Labor Services	7
Social Services	103
Health	109
Health Care Services	1,167
Occupational Health & Safety	13
Income Security	10
Gen'l Retirement & Disability Ins.	3,023
Fed. Employee Retirement & Disability	292
Unemployment Compensation	126
Publ. Assistance & Other Income Supplements	562
Income Security for Veterans	260
Veterans Education, Trng. & Rehabilitation	48
Hospital & Medical Care for Veterans	161
Other Veterans Benefits & Services	9
Federal Law Enforcement Activities	16
Federal Correctional Activities	19
Criminal Justice Assistance	9
Central Fiscal Operations	101
Property & Records Management	263
Central Personnel Management	4
Other Gen'l Government	1
Gen'l Revenue Sharing	123
Other Fiscal Assistance	1
Other Interest	12
TOTAL	\$13,270,000,000 (2½% of national total)

*Source: Geographic Distribution of Federal Funds in Missouri; Community Services Administration for Executive Office of President.

ceived slightly over six million total direct dollars from thirteen departments and agencies. The largest county, St. Louis, received over one billion total direct dollars from twenty-eight agencies and departments. The highest dollar amount received was by St. Louis City at over five billion, while total funds to Missouri exceeded thirteen billion direct dollars. It is readily apparent that reducing federal expenditures will not be accomplished painlessly.

The following table shows, by county rounded to thousands, direct federal funds in fiscal 1980. Columns following give county totals for the largest categories of federal spending in Missouri.

Several things are readily apparent from the foregoing figures. Cutbacks in farm assistance, for example, will strike much more severely at north Missouri. Tightening of public assistance spending will impact heaviest in the Bootheel and St. Louis City. Other conclusions are less evident. Retirement impact appears to be greatest in southwestern and northern Missouri, with scattered exceptions. St. Louis suburbs seem least affected, which may be a factor of age (the average age for suburban residents appears to be below the state norm).

It is in direct military spending where the disparity becomes most pronounced. This is the only large Missouri category with a growth outlook. Ten counties received no military dollars directly in fiscal 1980 (Bollinger, Douglas, Knox, Ozark, Schuyler, Scotland, Shannon, Stone, Sullivan and Wright). Seven others (Caldwell, Christian, Dallas, Daviess, Linn, Montgomery and Shelby) had direct military spending amounting to less than one dollar per resident. Increases will primarily impact upon Jackson and St. Louis City/County (mostly procurement), Johnson (Whiteman AFB), and Pulaski (Fort Leonard Wood).

Major reductions in federal outlays will be felt, often severely, in every county in Missouri. Planned increases (military) will impact few areas. While cutbacks may be very much in order, they can hardly be painfree.

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DIRECT FEDERAL SPENDING (FY80) IN MISSOURI

COUNTY	TOTAL	MILITARY	RETIREMENT	HEALTH CARE	PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	AGRICULTURAL AID
ADAIR	\$ 33,390,000	\$ 1,727,000	\$ 12,820,000	\$ 5,678,000	\$ 3,827,000	\$ 991,000
ANDREW	17,142,000	66,000	6,911,000	2,639,000	1,566,000	1,759,000
ATCHISON	21,278,000	8,000	8,173,000	2,408,000	974,000	748,000
AUDRAIN	40,265,000	1,108,000	17,186,000	6,206,000	1,138,000	2,119,000
BARRY	40,741,000	3,551,000	19,623,000	7,112,000	5,155,000	565,000
BARTON	20,715,000	3,510,000	8,171,000	3,669,000	1,777,000	1,077,000
BATES	26,896,000	34,000	11,909,000	5,630,000	1,705,000	3,247,000
BENTON	39,023,000	18,666,000	10,935,000	3,527,000	2,918,000	293,000
BOLLINGER	11,353,000	---	5,595,000	2,976,000	2,173,000	343,000
BOONE	190,527,000	4,924,000	41,225,000	21,219,000	11,715,000	2,127,000
BUCHANAN	155,629,000	8,889,000	65,353,000	25,076,000	11,996,000	6,978,000
BUTLER	77,829,000	991,000	24,480,000	11,456,000	12,651,000	2,720,000
CALDWELL	14,761,000	2,000	6,968,000	3,596,000	1,200,000	825,000
CALLAHAN	68,908,000	5,180,000	16,904,000	6,716,000	3,801,000	17,517,000
CADDO	26,446,000	2,000	14,111,000	1,812,000	4,217,000	153,000
CANE	75,608,000	5,739,000	32,407,000	11,247,000	6,367,000	1,628,000
CAREY	21,479,000	15,000	9,996,000	4,964,000	1,411,000	37,116,000
CAWLER	11,053,000	3,000	3,273,000	1,014,000	445,000	78,000
CASS	53,292,000	2,146,000	27,464,000	6,204,000	4,517,000	1,025,000
CECIL	18,797,000	393,000	9,627,000	3,773,000	2,586,000	256,000
CHARITON	24,231,000	4,110,000	7,592,000	7,841,000	1,436,000	4,018,000
CHRISTIAN	22,702,000	4,000	10,902,000	4,091,000	1,552,000	695,000
CLARK	15,300,000	152,000	5,061,000	2,332,000	976,000	4,321,000
CLAY	429,094,000	22,682,000	72,107,000	10,146,000	16,443,000	11,994,000
CLINTON	19,463,000	66,000	9,443,000	3,670,000	1,794,000	1,134,000
COLE	406,667,000	7,864,000	32,837,000	10,137,000	17,131,000	4,662,000
COOPER	24,572,000	25,000	10,405,000	4,246,000	1,667,000	2,487,000
CRAWFORD	23,675,000	113,000	12,231,000	4,194,000	1,481,000	430,000
DADE	12,433,000	4,000	5,707,000	2,682,000	1,074,000	1,176,000
DALLAS	16,360,000	3,000	7,480,000	3,698,000	2,651,000	295,000
DAVISS	16,036,000	1,000	6,275,000	3,701,000	1,721,000	2,133,000
DE KALB	11,464,000	36,000	5,136,000	2,471,000	1,421,000	1,753,000
DENY	22,648,000	13,000	9,647,000	4,240,000	1,446,000	1,590,000
DOUGLAS	12,395,000	---	5,302,000	2,936,000	1,496,000	694,000
DUNKLIN	57,221,000	829,000	21,031,000	12,317,000	11,541,000	1,666,000
FRANKLIN	87,869,000	2,380,000	40,779,000	11,589,000	9,834,000	1,077,000
GASCONADE	24,361,000	1,262,000	10,597,000	3,814,000	1,907,000	244,000
GENTRY	17,290,000	256,000	6,710,000	3,179,000	1,115,000	7,002,000
GREENE	304,547,000	15,538,000	115,604,000	34,293,000	29,994,000	26,554,000
GRUNDY	22,628,000	14,000	9,293,000	4,325,000	2,229,000	2,133,000
HARRISON	14,269,000	306,000	7,594,000	3,975,000	1,269,000	1,699,000
HENRY	42,171,000	3,992,000	16,467,000	6,487,000	1,349,000	5,437,000
HICKORY	11,375,000	820,000	4,416,000	1,768,000	1,767,000	1,767,000
HOLT	16,569,000	41,000	5,406,000	2,600,000	1,355,000	5,137,000
HOWARD	12,524,000	699,000	7,341,000	1,704,000	1,666,000	1,250,000
HOWELL	61,991,000	17,056,000	18,632,000	7,557,000	4,666,000	582,000
IRON	16,386,000	8,000	7,604,000	3,144,000	2,946,000	44,000
JACKSON	1,865,021,000	132,818,000	385,582,000	135,668,000	1,512,000	209,581,000
JASPER	156,709,000	10,687,000	64,574,000	20,993,000	16,473,000	5,484,000
JEFFERSON	111,022,000	707,000	41,410,000	11,535,000	17,223,000	219,000
JOHNSON	106,993,000	63,612,000	18,922,000	5,842,000	1,171,000	3,404,000
JONES	10,337,000	---	3,922,000	2,042,000	562,000	42,000
LACADE	31,708,000	22,000	14,475,000	6,023,000	4,698,000	908,000
LAFAYETTE	44,758,000	2,352,000	20,162,000	3,327,000	1,493,000	1,760,000
LAWRENCE	36,747,000	43,000	18,626,000	1,130,000	4,717,000	1,090,000
LEWIS	16,630,000	358,000	7,084,000	3,271,000	1,496,000	1,018,000
LINCOLN	27,095,000	926,000	11,711,000	4,698,000	2,741,000	727,000
LINN	30,347,000	6,000	14,650,000	6,460,000	2,644,000	1,746,000
LIVINGSTON	26,179,000	338,000	11,495,000	4,477,000	2,569,000	1,104,000
MCDONALD	22,622,000	998,000	9,568,000	4,068,000	4,306,000	999,000
MADISON	36,426,000	74,000	18,357,000	5,702,000	2,777,000	1,041,000
MAHON	18,478,000	21,000	6,619,000	3,172,000	1,369,000	809,000
MARION	7,812,000	7,000	1,930,000	1,568,000	1,182,000	120,000
MARTIN	49,409,000	417,000	22,764,000	8,729,000	4,468,000	1,581,000
MERCER	7,937,000	94,000	3,332,000	1,848,000	772,000	922,000
MILLER	27,480,000	2,082,000	12,186,000	4,218,000	1,341,000	1,132,000
MISSOURI	29,057,000	424,000	9,971,000	6,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
MONITEAU	16,236,000	11,000	6,117,000	1,541,000	1,296,000	1,000,000
MONROE	19,503,000	4,411,000	6,967,000	1,449,000	1,203,000	1,014,000
MONTGOMERY	21,250,000	4,000	9,928,000	1,937,000	2,106,000	1,171,000
MURRAY	2,681,000	17,000	1,445,000	448,000	67,000	67,000
NEW MADRID	44,680,000	496,000	12,973,000	4,006,000	1,444,000	4,781,000
NEWTON	53,066,000	10,176,000	1,607,000	1,141,000	4,400,000	1,141,000
NODAWAY	35,937,000	7,589,000	12,964,000	2,907,000	1,000,000	2,000,000
OSAGE	17,544,000	664,000	7,004,000	3,177,000	1,221,000	2,566,000
OSCEOLA	13,657,000	27,000	6,493,000	2,575,000	1,196,000	750,000
OSHER	12,387,000	---	5,361,000	1,591,000	1,191,000	1,191,000
PEMISCOT	45,76,000	1,119,000	11,262,000	1,114,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
PERRY	21,244,000	1,540,000	11,100,000	3,100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
PETTIS	70,845,000	13,886,000	26,411,000	9,508,000	6,100,000	1,100,000
PHILLIPS	82,743,000	4,797,000	11,684,000	5,977,000	3,414,000	1,400,000
PIKE	25,720,000	369,000	11,864,000	4,967,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
PLATTE	148,624,000	277,000	15,167,000	6,087,000	1,400,000	1,400,000
POLK	26,604,000	6,000	12,444,000	3,094,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
PULASKI	211,943,000	201,204,000	12,700,000	4,700,000	5,600,000	5,600,000
PUTNAM	9,176,000	75,000	4,000,000	2,125,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
RAVEN	2,445,000	---	1,170,000	4,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
RANDOLPH	47,119,000	2,297,000	18,700,000	5,000,000	4,000,000	1,000,000
REAGAN	77,359,000	245,000	11,100,000	4,100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
REYNOLDS	9,504,000	2,000	1,411,000	1,400,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
ROBERTS	22,193,000	22,000	4,310,000	1,100,000	4,000,000	1,000,000
ST CHARLES	114,211,000	11,067,000	52,304,000	11,000,000	11,000,000	11,000,000
ST CLAIR	26,600,000	44,000	11,000,000	4,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
ST JENNIFER	17,114,000	12,000	4,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
ST FRANCIS	65,447,000	74,000	11,100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
ST LOUIS CITY	1,381,111,000	46,486,000	11,100,000	11,100,000	11,100,000	11,100,000
SALINE	42,114,000	775,000	14,114,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
SCHUYLER	9,116,000	---	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
SCOTLAND	11,430,000	---	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
SCOTT	53,417,000	40,000	22,552,000	6,100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
SHANNON	11,114,000	---	3,000,000	2,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
SHELBY	15,900,000	1,000	6,417,000	3,000,000	1,000,000	1,400,000
STODOLDA	52,166,000	444,000	17,842,000	6,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
STONE	20,771,000	---	12,794,000	4,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
SULLIVAN	14,150,000	---	5,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
TANEY	12,000,000	1,000	2,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
TERRELL	26,000,000	92,000	11,100,000	4,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
VERMILION	54,119,000	1,000,000	14,100,000	5,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
WARREN	16,111,000	361,000	7,000,000	3,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
WASHINGTON	26,111,000	392,000	11,100,000	3,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
WAYNE	22,111,000	1,000,000	4,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
WEBSTER	25,111,000	1,000,000	11,000,000	4,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
WRIGHT	6,004,000	6,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
WYATT	24,465,000	---	10,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
ST LOUIS COUNTY	1,381,111,000	1,000,000,000	11,100,000	11,100,000	11,100,000	11,100,000

POEMS

End of Beginnings / *Patrick Worth Gray*

There is no place for me
 In this house, in that rumped bed
 Where she lies straight as a ruler,
 Where my son lies like a small
 Jackknife half out of bed.
 In Oklahoma now
 It is spring, but here it is still
 Winter, the maples black hands
 Protruding from a grey coat,
 Snow on the redwood fence
 Flesh above slow blood.
 My hair is white, and only
 The cat, her sides bulging,
 Her orange-striped tail
 Jerking as she stalks a bluejay,
 Will have anything to show come spring.

A Fall Prayer / *Susan Rieke*

These last bees and birds,
 The trees baring themselves:
 Oh, I cannot let you go;

I am fall, and these are
 My season's best; do not
 Give way too soon to cold.

Let my leaves play a little
 Longer and may the sun
 Fall kindly on my shoulders;

Just a small time more,
 I beg. These bees are sweet
 When they move most slowly.

What Are Facts? / *Susan Rieke*

I
 Let us list the facts:
 Ten degrees below zero,
 Drifts of dirty snow,
 And a promise of more
 From the Farmer's Almanac.

II
 But let us look and feel;
 Let us listen:
 Birds with sweet-singing
 Sounds fly to treetops they
 Knew last summer;
 The air wraps us
 With more kindness than
 We have felt lately; we
 Are carried into spring
 By soft-winged music.

Mothers Day Drive / *Denise Low*

we head south into limestone country
 the highway slices through stone and grass
 exposing the skeletons of these hills

rock layers of ancient ocean debris
 beaten buff colored by plains winds

filled with tiny floating fossils
 crinoids, corals, trilobites

the matrix is calcium
 leached out of seawater

like these thick bones of mine
 pulled into shape
 grain by grain
 from her bloodstream

seedling cottonwoods
 push through cracks in the rocks

short grasses spread
 along the layers of ocean

Into the Heartland / *Michael Rosen*

I am a miner.
 With this narrow light from my headgear
 I bore into space,
 this blind sac.
 Above me, below me,
 darkness hangs its teeth.

My tools are minute.
 A light I carry further and further
 into an abyss of my own construction,
 the shovels of my fingernails,
 and an instrument of letters
 that picks at blankness.

I am mining
 the pounding of stones on wet leather,
 the smells of salt water and of uncooked meat,
 silver spoons the size of my little finger,
 fragments of dishes, burnished wood,
 the stain of blackberries and ashes.
 I am mining a past,
 an ontogeny of gill arches,
 fetal tail, pigmented skin,
 cheekbones and jaws,
 the host of arms that have inhabited me,
 hirsute and attenuated,
 the sediments of men,
 their skulls marked with the date of birth
 and death, palms spread upward
 like loaves of yam bread rising in the sun.
 I am mining a past
 that tucks words under its tongue.

The tattered safety net

By Harrison Donnelly

As Congress begins considering the new round of budget cuts proposed by President Reagan, millions of low-income Americans are starting to feel the pinch of the reductions in social programs approved in July.

The results of the new law going into effect this month (Oct 1) include:

- Nearly 700,000 families will lose all or part of their welfare benefits.

- Food stamps will be taken away from 1.1 million people, and the amount of benefits will not keep up with rises in food costs.

- School lunch prices will go up, and meals may be smaller.

- An extra 13 weeks of unemployment compensation will be denied to 1.5 million workers.

- Some 900,000 people who would have had public service jobs or job training positions will not get them.

- Income for about 1.3 million Social Security recipients will drop.

- College students from families with incomes over \$15,000 will not get basic federal grants for their educational costs.

- The low-rent housing crunch will get even worse; people who already live in federally subsidized housing will have to pay higher rents.

The budget reconciliation law passed in July reduced spending on programs for the poor by \$25 billion, which amounted to 70 percent of the total budget savings. The cuts are certain to cause a significant loss of income to many of the nearly 30 million Americans that the Census Bureau says are living in poverty.

Just how severe that impact will be, however, is in dispute.

The Reagan administration, which pushed for the cuts, denies that the "truly needy" will suffer. But critics say that many poor people will be deprived of necessities.

"They're going to eat less and get fewer clothes," said Tom Joe of the Center for the Study of Welfare Policy.

The administration contends that even with the cuts, federal programs

will continue to protect those who cannot help themselves.

"The safety net is working," Edwin L. Dale Jr., spokesman for the Office of Management and Budget, said.

In presenting his budget earlier this year, Reagan referred to a "safety net" of seven programs that were to be spared from cuts—old age and survivors' insurance under Social Security; Medicare; veterans' pensions; Supplemental Security Income (SSI) for the aged, blind and disabled; Head Start preschool education; summer jobs for poor youths; and free school lunches.

Two immediate problems face those who rely on government help in 1982.

First, there is the question of funding for the food stamp program. Although it was not included in the safety net programs, the food stamp program will be a vital source of income for people who lose other benefits.

But the spending limits on food stamps—\$10.9 billion in Senate legislation and \$10 billion in the House—are well below the Congressional Budget Office's (CBO) estimate of \$11.7 billion for what the program actually will cost in fiscal year 1982.

Unless the spending limit is increased or new ways found to reduce program costs, the administration will be forced to cut back benefits to many or all of the 22 million recipients.

Second, complex changes in welfare rules already are causing confusion at the local level and may mean lengthy delays in receiving benefits.

"They [Congress and the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS)] have required states to make a huge number of changes on an impossible timetable. It's going to be a calamity for the next six months. People are going to find it very difficult to get onto the program," predicted Henry Freedman of the Center on Social Welfare Policy and the Law.

Very poor people who are totally dependent on welfare programs will probably be spared major losses. But the "working poor," those with low-paying jobs as well as welfare benefits, face severe reductions under the new law.

In some states, CBO estimates, working welfare mothers will end up with incomes no higher than those who do not work. That may cause them to give up their jobs and rely only on government benefits, Joe and other welfare experts worry.

The Reagan administration is philosophically opposed to using welfare to supplement the income of workers, according to Michael de Marr, an HHS welfare policy expert. "This administration wants welfare to help only people who are down and out," he said.

The cuts in anti-poverty programs come at a time when the number of poor people in the United States is growing.

The Census Bureau says that in 1980, 29.3 million persons—13 percent of the population—were living below the poverty level of \$8,414 for a non-farm family of four. In 1979, the poverty rate was 11.7 percent—26.1 million poor people.

The spread of poverty will continue through at least the first half of the 1980's, Sheldon Danziger of the University of Wisconsin's Institute for Poverty Research predicted.

Future spending cuts, particularly if they involve significant reductions in Social Security, could have an even greater impact on the poor. Social Security protects far more people against poverty than any other program.

"What's to come will be far more excruciating than what has already been done. With each succeeding cut, it hurts more and more. In virtually every program, the first billion cut doesn't hurt nearly as much as the second," said Robert Greenstein of the Project on Food Assistance and Poverty.

Congressional Quarterly

Major Cuts in Programs for the Poor . . .

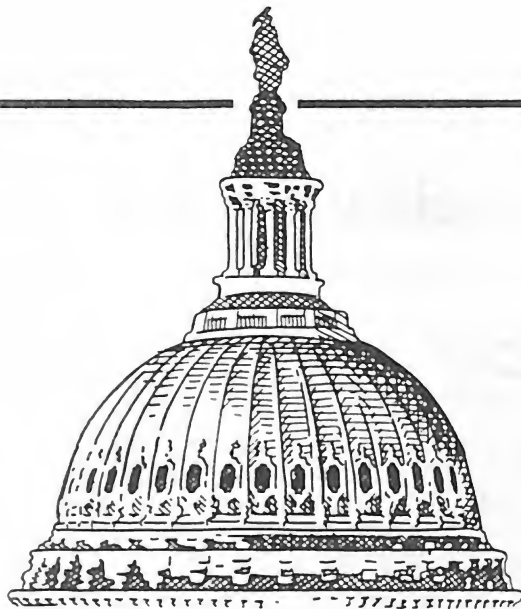
Program, Number of participants before budget cuts (latest available figures)	Description of program	Fiscal 1982 baseline* (in billions of dollars)	Fiscal 1982 cuts	How principal savings achieved
Compensatory Education (5.2 million)	Funds to school districts educating children from low-income families.	\$ 4	-\$.4	Spending limited to \$3.48 billion, but program was not included in Reagan-backed block grant.
Pell Grants (2.6 million)	Grants to low- and middle-income college students; pays up to one-half of educational costs.	\$ 3.2	-\$.5	Spending limited to \$2.65 billion. Education Department to determine how to reduce program costs.
CETA Public Service Jobs (822,000)	Grants to state and local governments to provide jobs to low-income unemployed.	\$ 3.8	-\$ 3.8	Program eliminated.
CETA Job Training and Youth Programs (2.8 million)	Grants to state and local governments to provide job training to low-income youths and unemployed.	\$ 2.6	-\$.6	Spending for job training limited to \$1.43 billion. Youth employment and training capped at \$576.2 million, but not consolidated with other programs as Reagan proposed.
Medicaid (18.3 million)	State-federal program to pay for medical care for the poor.	\$18.5	-\$ 1.1	Federal payments to states reduced; however, the Reagan-backed cap on contributions to states was not imposed.
Housing Assistance (2.4 million units)	Rent subsidies for low-income families; assistance to public housing projects.	\$28.6	-\$11.6	Number of new subsidized housing units cut; higher rental contribution from tenants required.
Food Stamps (22.6 million)	Coupons, good for food purchase, issued to low-income households.	\$12.3	-\$ 1.7	Income eligibility limited; inflation adjustment delayed; benefits to working poor reduced.
Supplemental Feeding for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) (2.2 million)	Food packages (eggs, dairy products and fruits) provided to low-income mothers and children deemed to be at "nutritional risk."	\$ 1	+\$.02	Spending not cut, but limited to \$1.017 billion.
School Feeding Programs (26 million)	Subsidies for meals served at school; additional subsidies for meals served to children from low-income families.	\$ 4.5	-\$ 1.4	Federal subsidies for school meals cut; income eligibility limited; special milk program eliminated; summer feeding program restricted.

... Required by Reconciliation Bill

Program, Number of participants before budget cuts (latest available figures)	Description of program	Fiscal 1982 baseline* (in billions of dollars)	Fiscal 1982 cuts	How principal savings achieved
Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) (11.1 million)	Matching grants to state programs of cash support to low-income families with children.	\$ 6.6	— \$ 1.2	Benefits to working recipients reduced; states allowed to establish "workfare" programs.
Energy Assistance (11.7 million households)	Grants to states for distribution to welfare recipients and other low-income persons for help with energy bills.	\$ 2.2	— \$.4	Spending limited to \$1.875 billion. Program converted into block grant.
Supplemental Security Income (SSI) (4.2 million)	Cash grants to low-income aged, blind or disabled persons; benefits supplemented by states.	\$ 7.8	— \$.05	Accounting methods tightened.
Unemployment Insurance (3 million)	Federal-state insurance program providing 26 weeks of benefits to the unemployed; extended benefits available for an additional 13 weeks under certain conditions.	\$21	— \$.2	Nationwide extended benefits program eliminated; restrictions placed on conditions under which states can provide extended benefits.
Title XX Social Services	Grants to states for providing services such as day care, foster care and family planning.	\$ 3.1	— \$.7	Spending limited to \$2.4 billion; program not included in Reagan-backed block grants.
Legal Services (1.5 million)	Grants to local legal aid clinics providing assistance to low-income persons in civil cases.	\$.34	?	Program not included in Reagan-backed block grant; funding to be set by separate legislation.
Community Services Administration	Grants to local community action agencies for social services to low-income persons.	\$.59	— \$.2	Agency abolished; program converted into separate block grant, authorized at \$389.4 million.
Social Security Minimum Benefit (3 million)	Ensures that Social Security recipients receive at least \$122 a month, regardless of past earnings.	—	— \$.7	Provision eliminated.

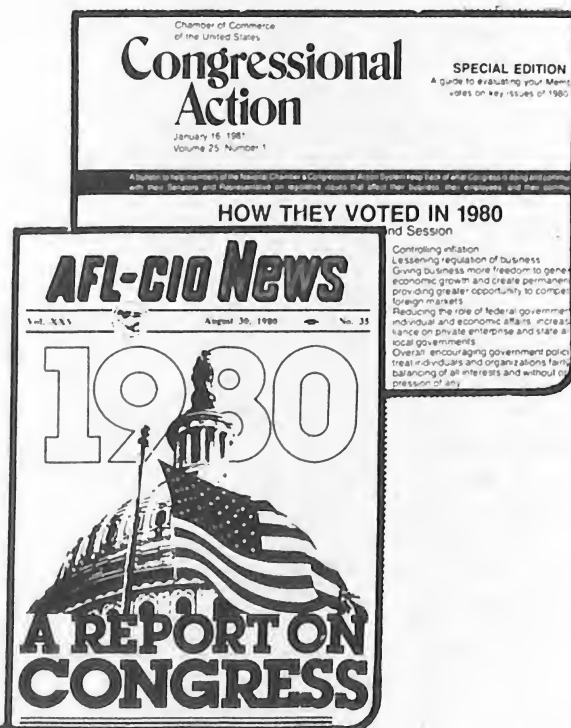
The baseline is generally the Congressional Budget Office's projection of the amount needed to maintain existing program level in fiscal 1982 based on 1981 spending level adjusted for inflation.

Source of figures: Congressional Budget Office



The Congressional Ratings Game

Liberals, conservatives use
ratings as threat and promise



Vote studies have long been a familiar feature of pressure group politics. The National Farmers Union published its first study in 1919 and began an annual voting record in 1948. The AFL-CIO has played the rating game since 1955. Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) began scoring members on their "liberal quotient" in 1947, leading to creation of the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) conservative index in 1958.

These pioneering vote studies and a few others held the field until the 1970s. Then, as specialized lobby groups and political action committees proliferated in response to a more active federal government, so did the ratings.

Two government rulings in 1980—one by the Second Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, the other by the Internal Revenue Service—may propel the trend. The rulings permit non-campaign groups to distribute voting records without jeopardizing their tax-exempt status or violating campaign laws, so long as the ratings do not contain an overt election pitch.

Congress itself has made the practice easier by vastly increasing the number of roll-call votes taken.

By 1980, more than 70 national groups were issuing vote studies, along with dozens of state and local special interests.

RATING THE RATERS

Ratings, and complaints about them, have become so commonplace that the House Republican Research Committee has twice tried to rate the raters. The 1980 version of its study assessed 34 group ratings, criticizing many of them for the way they select votes, tabulate the results and present them to the public.

Most raters attach caveats to their report cards warning that a sample of votes is only a limited indicator of congressional performance. A rating does not tell constituents about leadership or work in committee.

Nor does a rating tell why a member voted the way he did.

A case in point: ADA said senators who voted last year for a low-income housing amendment and against a scholarship program for private school students had taken the acceptable liberal position. But ACA, for very different reasons, picked the same two votes as indicators of good conservative behavior.

Some vote studies try to force readers to examine the issues by listing key votes without figuring a percentage "score" and by including a straightforward discussion of each vote.

Others dramatize their report cards with catchy titles, such as the Consumer Federation of America's "Consumer Heroes and Zeroes."

In a 1980 "Congressional Report," for example, the Conservative Caucus rated lawmakers for their votes on funding of domestic volunteer agencies such as VISTA; the headline was, "Shall Taxpayer Funding of Left-Wing Activists Continue?"

Groups that prepare ratings invariably respond that, of course, they are biased—toward the lawmakers who serve the interests of their particular constituencies.

WHAT IS A LIBERAL?

The earliest ratings attempted to measure ideological tendencies across a wide range of issues. A member was "liberal" or "conservative," "pro-labor" or "pro-business," depending on the ratings, and if the scores took a sharp turn, reporters wrote about the member's transformation.

But how much of the change was in the nature of the ratings themselves?

While ADA's annual rating, for example, has become informally accepted as a benchmark of liberalism, a closer look at the ratings suggests that liberalism today is not what it once was.

In 1960, the ADA judged the "liberal quotient" of Congress based on 21 votes. Only one, a foreign aid bill, involved military or foreign affairs.

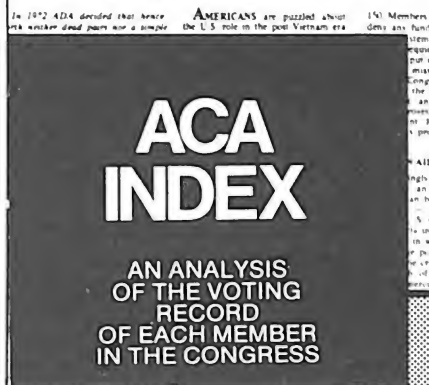
In 1970, with Americans at war in Indochina, opposition to the war and to military spending generally was a test of liberal credentials. Fifteen of the 46 ADA-picked votes related to military spending and foreign affairs, and New Deal liberals with a hawkish view of foreign policy—Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., for instance—found their ratings severely lowered.

The 1980 ADA scores showed additional shifts in the group's interests. Early liberal support for government-sponsored development, such as sewers and slum clearance, had given way to concern with preserving the environment. Civil liberties issues had expanded beyond voting rights for blacks to include abortion and homosexual rights.

Also, after a period of estrangement dating back to the 1968 presidential campaign, ADA has renewed its friendship with organized labor, adding labor officials to the ADA board and more labor issues to the ADA scorecard.

The risk of taking such a rating at face value is further illustrated by this anomaly in the 1980 scores: While most other ratings showed Congress growing more conservative,

ADA's 1980 Voting Record



the average ADA scores increased by two points in the House and by eight points in the Senate. Among Eastern Republicans, the average score rose a startling 13 percentage points.

Good news for ADA? Apparently not.

"Unfortunately, these figures do not indicate that the Senate has grown more liberal over the past year," said ADA Director Leon Shull. "Instead, they show that conservatives began to take the initiative in the Senate, and that moderates were forced to side with the liberals to prevent harmful legislation from passing."

ACA AND ACU

At the conservative end of the rating game, Americans for Constitutional Action and the American Conservative Union tend to produce similar scores, but the two groups get there by different routes.

ACA relies on roughly the same set of issues year after year—for military spending and tax cuts, against social programs and government regulation.

In February, some conservatives in Congress broke tradition and voted to increase the public debt limit because President Reagan asked them to. That vote will count against them in ACA's 1981 rating, according to ACA Chairman Charlene Baker Craycraft, because that has always been a conservative stance.

"I've never deviated, because if you do, you lose consistency and, I think, credibility," she explained.

But ACU, which also has opposed lifting the debt limit in past ratings, probably will not count this year's vote, according to national Chairman Mickey Edwards. Edwards, a Republican representative from Oklahoma, supported Reagan on the debt limit,

and he has final authority over the ACU rating.

"Circumstances change," said Edwards. "Every issue has to be looked at in context."

What, then, constitutes a conservative position? Edwards' answer is that it is the position taken by conservatives.

"What we do when we pick the votes is to find the issues on which there is a very clear-cut distinction between the way conservatives voted and the way liberals voted," he said. "If [Reps.] Phil Crane, John Ashbrook and Jack Kemp go a certain way and [Rep.] Phil Burton goes the other," that vote is a candidate for ACU's list.

Republicans Crane of Illinois, Ashbrook of Ohio and Kemp of New York usually score near 100 on the ACU scale; Democrat Burton of California usually scores near 0.

LOBBYING TOOL

An underlying motive in many of the studies is to increase the lobbying punch of the groups that publish them by gaining publicity, by making the group's membership more aware or by dangling the implied promise of campaign support for those who go along.

But vote ratings can close doors as well as open them. Lobbyists say they sometimes find themselves soothing the feelings of a friendly member who came out low on a scorecard.

"After you see it on paper, sometimes it gives you a little bit of indigestion to think, 'That guy sure helped you out on something and the voting record doesn't show it,'" said Vernie Glasson of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

For that reason, some big lobby groups deliberately avoid vote studies.

SWINGING VOTES

From a congressman's viewpoint, the important question about a rating is whether it will help or hurt him at the polls.

In some cases, a rating brings tangible campaign benefits. A high score from a labor group may mean an endorsement, accompanied by get-out-the-vote help. Groups like the National Taxpayers Union and Ralph Nader's Congress Watch will send their officials into contested districts to stage press conferences if one candidate has an exceptionally good (or exceptionally poor) rating. The National Federation of Independent Business assiduously courts the media on behalf of its high-scorers.

CONGRESSIONAL RATINGS

(continued)

If the rating group has a campaign arm, the ratings usually are one factor in deciding which candidates receive donations—though rarely the deciding factor.

Negative Campaigns

Ratings may be most effective—at least at grabbing headlines—when they are used in a negative way against an incumbent.

The National Conservative Politi-

cal Action Committee, which last year ran a free-spending campaign to beat liberals, made wide use of the ADA and AFL-CIO ratings—first in picking the races to target, then in extensive advertising—to paint incumbents as big-spending liberals.

"Liberals go absolutely nuts over that, because standard operating procedure in America is to deny that you're a liberal," said NCPAC Chairman John T. Dolan.

ADA press secretary Harry Margolis said, "We haven't seen any evidence that anyone has lost votes"

because of a high ADA score; but he concedes that many members worry about it.

Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., once told a National Press Club audience that he sometimes votes against the ADA position simply because a 100 percent score would make him a prime target of the right wing. Richard P. Conlan, staff director of the House Democratic Study Group, said he believes it is not uncommon for representatives to duck an ADA-backed issue for the same reason.

How special-interest groups rate representatives

ADA (Americans for Democratic Action)—The percentage of time each representative voted in accordance with or entered a live pair for the ADA position on 18 selected votes in 1980. The percentages were compiled by ADA. Failure to vote lowers the scores.

AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations)—The percentage of time each representative voted or was paired in favor of the AFL-CIO position on eight selected votes from 1979 and 11 selected votes from 1980. The percentages were computed by CQ. Failure to vote does not lower the scores.

CCUS (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)—The percentage of time each representative voted with the chamber's position on 34 selected votes in 1980. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by the chamber.

ACA (Americans for Constitutional Action)—The percentage of time each representative voted in accordance with the ACA's position on 24 selected votes in 1980. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by the ACA.

Representatives	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACA	Senators	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACA
Illinois					MISSOURI				
1 Stewart	78	94	63	16	1 Clay	83	89	53	16
2 Murphy	22	91	65	17	2 Young	50	56	68	33
3 Russo	50	68	66	39	3 Gephardt	56	61	64	33
4 Derwinski	11	16	60	74	4 Skelton	17	58	66	42
5 Fary	44	79	65	21	5 Bolling	72	83	65	23
6 Hyde	28	26	79	74	6 Coleman	6	11	73	87
7 Collins	89	94	48	20	7 Taylor	11	16	66	88
8 Rostenkowski	50	82	56	17	8 Ichord	0	18	68	76
9 Yates	100	83	48	17	9 Volkmer	39	58	63	29
10 Porter	39	18	71	71	10 Burlison	44	78	66	22
11 Annunzio	56	79	69	18					
12 Crane, P.	6	8	64	95					
13 McClory	17	21	73	67					
14 Erlenborn	11	11	90	85					
15 Corcoran	6	5	83	96					
16 Anderson	22	0	86	0					
17 O'Brien	22	24	86	77					
18 Michel	6	11	74	82					
19 Rallsback	44	41	66	52					
20 Findley	28	17	73	70					
21 Madigan	11	24	68	76					
22 Crane, D.	11	11	61	96					
23 Price	56	89	67	13					
24 Simon	78	72	59	24					

How special-interest groups rate senators

ADA (Americans for Democratic Action)—The percentage of time each senator voted in accordance with or entered a live pair for the ADA position on 18 selected votes in 1980. The percentages were compiled by ADA. Failure to vote lowers the scores.

AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations)—The percentage of time each senator voted or was paired in favor of the AFL-CIO position on four selected votes in 1979 and 15 selected votes in 1980. The percentages were computed by CQ. Failure to vote does not lower scores.

CCUS (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)—The percentage of time each senator voted with the chamber's position on 42 selected votes in 1980. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by the chamber.

ACA (Americans for Constitutional Action)—The percentage of time each senator voted in accordance with the ACA's position on 26 selected votes in 1980. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by the ACA.

Representatives	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACA	Senators	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACA
ILLINOIS					MISSOURI				
Stevenson	61	67	32	29	Eagleton	78	89	39	8
Percy	39	41	63	64	Danforth	50	39	70	48

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Congre\$\$ and its financial holdings

Following are lists of the financial interest of members of the House and Senate in several major categories.

The categorized list below includes business positions, earned and unearned income, holdings and liabilities disclosed by members of Congress on their 1981 financial disclosure forms.

Businesses are listed only in one category. While many companies engage in more than one line of trade, they generally are listed in the category of their principal or original activity.

Although members are required to give the exact amount of earned income, they are not required to disclose the exact amount of unearned income, holdings or liabilities. Instead, amounts are expressed in ranges of value.

The ranges for unearned income are \$101-\$1,000; \$1,001-\$2,500; \$2,501-\$5,000; \$5,001-\$15,000; \$15,001-\$50,000; \$50,001-\$100,000; and over \$100,000.

The ranges for holdings and liabilities are \$1,001-\$5,000; \$5,001-\$15,000; \$15,001-\$50,000; \$50,001-\$100,000; \$100,001-\$250,000; and over \$250,000.

Exact amounts are given where available on members' financial disclosure forms.

Several types of financial interests do not appear in the lists.

Among these are savings and checking accounts, forms of savings such as certificates of deposit, individual retirement accounts, mutual funds, brokerage accounts, municipal bonds, federal securities, farm credit certificates, recent estate distributions, proceeds of lawsuits, personal residences and vehicles, and, generally, real estate installment sales contracts.

HOUSE

AGRICULTURE, FOOD INDUSTRY

Collins, Cardiss, D-III: Coca-Cola (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); McDonald's

(unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Philip Morris (unspecified dividends; stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

Crane, Daniel B., R-III: Farm (rent \$2,501-\$5,000; \$50,001-\$100,000; liabilities \$5,001-\$15,000).

Crane, Philip M., R-III: Farm, Fountain County, Ind. (income \$6,163; \$15,001-\$50,000); McDonald's (\$1,001-\$5,000).

Hyde, Henry J., R-III: Terra Firma Investment Co. (payment on sale of farm land \$1,001-\$2,500; balance due \$15,001-\$50,000).

McClory, Robert, R-III: Quaker Oats (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Price, Melvin, D-III: Mississippi Valley Trotting Assn. (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; \$5,001-\$15,000).

Rostenkowski, Dan, D-III: Egyptian Trotting Assn. (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

Skeltan, Ike, D-Mo.: Installment sale of farm partnership (capital gains \$2,501-\$5,000; \$5,001-\$15,000).

Taylor, Gene, R-Mo.: Cattle (income \$12,433.20; \$15,001-\$50,000); farm land in Mo. (\$150,003-\$300,000; liabilities \$15,001-\$50,000).

Yates, Sidney R., D-III: Coca-Cola (spouse: dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

BANKS, FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Collins, Cardiss, D-III: BankAmerica (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); First City Bancorp of Texas (unspecified dividends; stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

Derwinski, Edward J., R-III: United Savings and Loan (director; director's fee \$4,000); South Holland First Savings and Loan (dividends \$2,501-\$5,000; \$15,001-\$50,000); First National Bank of Harvey (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; \$5,001-\$15,000); Virginia National Bank (dividends \$101-\$1,000; \$5,001-\$15,000).

Findley, Paul, R-III: First National Bank (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

McClory, Robert, R-III: American National Bank (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Bank of Waukegan (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

O'Brien, George M., R-III: First National Bank of Joliet (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Price, Melvin, D-III: MidAmerica Bank and Trust of Edgemont (director; director's fee \$250; dividends \$5,001-\$15,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); General Bancshares Corp. (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Illinois Bancshares (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); MidAmerica Bancshares (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Rostenkowski, Dan, D-III: Chicago Bank of Commerce (stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Russo, Marty, D-III: RAMARR (partner; \$100,001-\$250,000; liabilities \$115,002-\$300,000).

Simon, Paul, D-III: Adams Express (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Skeltan, Ike, D-Mo.: Wellington Bank (stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Yates, Sidney R., D-III: Lehman Corp. (stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Capitol Bank of Chicago

(spouse: stock \$1,001-\$5,000); United Bank of America (spouse: stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Young, Robert A., D-Mo.: Colonial Bank (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$50,001-\$100,000).

CHEMICALS

Collins, Cardiss, D-III: Dow Chemical (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Crane, Philip M., R-III: Corning Glass Works (\$1,001-\$5,000); International Flavors and Fragrances (\$1,001-\$5,000).

Rostenkowski, Dan, D-III: American Chemsol (stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

COMMUNICATIONS, ELECTRONICS

Collins, Cardiss, D-III: Commerce Clearing House (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Crane, Philip M., R-III: Green Hill Publishers (royalties \$101-\$1,000); New Puritan Library (royalties \$101-\$1,000); Data General (\$1,001-\$5,000).

Findley, Paul, R-III: The Pike Press (director; dividends \$15,001-\$50,000; stock \$100,001-\$250,000); Crown Publishers (royalties \$1,001-\$2,500); The Democratic Message (director; promissory notes \$5,001-\$15,000; stock \$50,001-\$100,000).

Price, Melvin, D-III: Central Telephone and Utilities (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Rostenkowski, Dan, D-III: Gannett (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Savage, Gus, D-III: Chicago Citizen Corp. (salary \$13,200; accrued vacation \$12,857; termination pay \$600; capital gains \$2,501-\$5,000).

Simon, Paul, D-III: Book royalties (\$101-\$1,000); Harper and Row (stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Yates, Sidney R., D-III: Wang Laboratories (stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

DEFENSE CONTRACTORS

Collins, Cardiss, D-III: Eastman Kodak (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); General Motors (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); International Business Machines (unspecified dividends; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); American Telephone and Telegraph (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Ford Motor Credit Corp. (unspecified dividends; \$15,001-\$50,000); Emerson Electric (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Emerson, Bill, R-Mo.: TRW (bonus \$16,000; dividends \$101-\$1,000; capital gains \$5,001-\$15,000); Fairchild Industries (dividends \$101-\$1,000; capital gains \$101-\$1,000).

Findley, Paul, R-III: American Telephone and Telegraph (dividends \$101-\$1,000).

Rostenkowski, Dan, D-III: American Telephone and Telegraph (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

Yates, Sidney R., D-III: International Business Machines (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); General Motors Acceptance Corp. (self: interest \$101-\$1,000; commercial paper \$15,001-\$50,000—spouse: interest \$404-\$4,000; commercial paper \$45,003-\$150,000);

(continued on page 18)

FINANCIAL HOLDINGS (continued)

Ford Motor Credit Corp. (self: interest \$101-\$1,000; commercial paper \$5,001-\$15,000—spouse: interest \$505-\$5,000; commercial paper \$75,005-\$250,000); General Electric Credit Corp. (self: interest \$101-\$1,000; commercial paper \$5,001-\$15,000—spouse: interest \$202-\$2,000; commercial paper \$45,003-\$150,000); Atlantic Richfield (spouse: dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Ford (spouse: dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); TRW (spouse: dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$2,002-\$10,000).

INSURANCE

Clay, William, D-Mo.: Union Mutual Insurance (dividends \$101-\$1,000).

Derwinski, Edward J., R-III.: Combined Insurance (dividends \$101-\$1,000; \$5,001-\$15,000).

Yates, Sidney R., D-III.: Combined Insurance (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Transamerica (spouse: stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Young, Robert A., D-Mo.: Guido Insurance Agency (commission \$2,000).

LAW

O'Brien, George M., R-III.: O'Brien and Garrison (capital gains \$5,001-\$15,000; \$50,001-\$100,000).

Porter, John Edward, R-III.: Law practice (earnings for work performed before 1980, \$15,529); furniture and equipment (capital gains \$2,501-\$5,000; \$5,001-\$15,000).

Volkmer, Harold L., D-Mo.: Law books (capital gains \$1,001-\$2,500; \$1,001-\$5,000).

MANUFACTURING

Clay, William, D-Mo.: Angelica Uniform (dividends \$101-\$1,000).

Collins, Cardiss, D-III.: Clark Equipment (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Maytag (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Hobart (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); 3M Co. (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Procter and Gamble (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Crane, Philip M., R-III.: Enmet Corp. (\$5,001-\$15,000); Procter and Gamble (\$1,001-\$5,000).

Derwinski, Edward J., R-III.: IC Industries (dividends \$101-\$1,000; \$1,001-\$5,000).

McClory, Robert, R-III.: Gould Inc. (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Rostenkowski, Dan, D-III.: Athlone Industries (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Deluxe Check Printers (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Sperry and Hutchinson (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Simon, Paul, D-III.: International Harvester (stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Yates, Sidney R., D-III.: Harvey Hubbell (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Walco National (self: dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000—spouse: dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); International Harvester (spouse: dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

MEDICINE, PHARMACEUTICAL

Collins, Cardiss, D-III.: Johnson and Johnson (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Merck (unspecified dividends; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); American Home Products (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Crane, Daniel B., R-III.: Dental office equipment (\$5,001-\$15,000).

MINERALS, METALS, TIMBER

Collins, Cardiss, D-III.: Weyerhaeuser (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Crane, Daniel B., R-III.: Buffelsfontein Gold Mining (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); timber (capital gains \$5,001-\$15,000).

Crane, Philip M., R-III.: International Paper (\$1,001-\$5,000); coin collections (\$50,001-\$100,000).

McClory, Robert, R-III.: American Can (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Rostenkowski, Dan, D-III.: Treesdale Inc. (dividends and interest \$5,001-\$15,000; debentures \$1,001-\$5,000).

OIL, GAS

Crane, Daniel B., R-III.: Aim Consultants (royalties \$5,001-\$15,000); Aim Consolidated Oil Wells (\$50,001-\$100,000).

O'Brien, George M., R-III.: Republic Oil (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; \$1,001-\$5,000).

Price, Melvin, D-III.: Southwestern Energy (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Skelton, Ike, D-Mo.: Sun Oil (spouse: royalties \$2,910).

Yates, Sidney R., D-III.: Crown Central Petroleum (spouse: capital gains \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Peoples Energy (spouse: dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Toreador Royalty Corp. (spouse: stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

POWER, LIGHT

Collins, Cardiss, D-III.: Florida Power and Light (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Public Service of Indiana (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Texas Utilities

Coleman, E. Thomas, R-Mo.: Residential rental property in Va. (rent \$5,001-\$15,000; \$80,003-\$200,000; liabilities \$45,003-\$150,000); unimproved land in Calif. (\$5,001-\$15,000).

Collins, Cardiss, D-III.: Residential rental property (rent \$2,501-\$5,000; \$5,001-\$15,000).

Corcoran, Tom, R-III.: Residential rental property in Ill. (rent \$5,400; \$110,000; liabilities \$70,800).

Crane, Daniel B., R-III.: Hopkins Syndicate (rent \$101-\$1,000; \$5,001-\$15,000); commercial property (\$50,001-\$100,000; liabilities \$100,001-\$250,000); unimproved land in Ind. and Colo. (\$51,002-\$105,000).

Crane, Philip M., R-III.: Cedar Point Inc. (\$15,001-\$50,000); FMH Properties Inc. (promissory note \$5,001-\$15,000); Ann-Tex (\$5,001-\$15,000).

Derwinski, Edward J., R-III.: Residential rental property in Va. (rent \$10,004-\$20,000; \$200,004-\$400,000; liabilities \$45,003-\$150,000).

Fary, John G., D-III.: Unimproved land in Mich. and Fla. (\$6,002-\$20,000); residential rental property in Fla. (\$15,001-\$50,000).

Gephardt, Richard A., D-Mo.: Residential rental property in Mo. and Va. (rent \$1,001-\$2,500; over \$350,001); unimproved land in Mo. (\$50,001-\$100,000).

McClory, Robert, R-III.: Residential rental property in Ill. (rent \$5,001-\$15,000; \$100,001-\$250,000); sale of Madison West and Ekstrand properties (capital gains \$5,001-\$15,000; \$15,001-\$50,000); Utica Grand (\$1,001-\$5,000).

Michel, Robert H., R-III.: Residential rental property in Washington, D.C. (rent \$2,501-\$5,000; \$100,001-\$250,000); Towne House Inn Inc. (vice president; \$50,001-\$100,000).

Railsback, Tom, R-III.: Residential rental property in Washington, D.C. (rent \$2,703-\$7,000; interest \$2,501-\$5,000; \$250,003-\$600,000; liabilities \$5,001-\$15,000); mortgages on residential property (interest \$2,501-\$5,000; liabilities \$5,001-\$15,000).

Rostenkowski, Dan, D-III.: Vern-Lyn Real Estate (spouse: \$5,001-\$15,000); residential rental property in Ill. (rent \$1,001-\$2,500; \$16,002-\$20,000); commercial property in Ill. (\$43,007-\$145,000).

Simon, Paul, D-III.: Residential rental property in Fla. (rent \$1,001-\$2,500; \$50,001-\$100,000); Fairfield Communities (interest \$101-\$1,000; bond \$1,001-\$5,000).

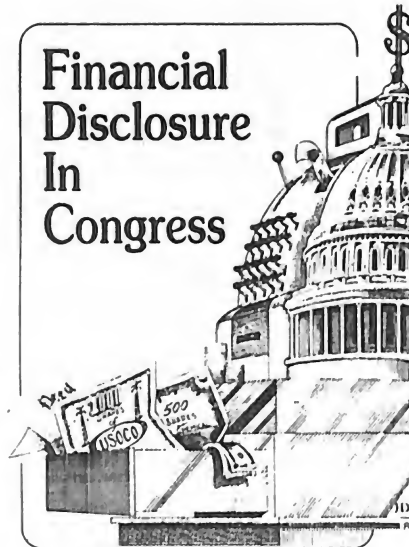
Skelton, Ike, D-Mo.: Commercial property in La. (spouse: rent \$101-\$1,000; capital gains \$1,001-\$2,500; \$10,002-\$30,000); residential rental property in Va. (capital gains \$15,001-\$50,000).

Volkmer, Harold L., D-Mo.: Residential rental property in Mo. and Va. (gross rent \$6,003-\$12,500; \$165,003-\$400,000).

Yates, Sidney R., D-III.: First Mortgage Investors Debenture (interest \$101-\$1,000; \$5,001-\$15,000); Cardinal Drive-In (self: \$15,001-\$50,000—spouse: \$15,001-\$50,000); Den View Lake Shore Drive-In (self: \$5,001-\$15,000—spouse: partnership distribution \$101-\$1,000; \$50,001-\$100,000); Allied Stores Shopping Center and K-Mart Shopping Plaza (over \$250,000); Midwest Plaza Office Building (partnership distribution \$50,001-\$100,000; over \$250,000); University Park Apartment Building (partnership distribution \$1,001-\$2,500; \$15,001-\$50,000); First Street Building (partnership distribution \$101-\$1,000; \$1,001-\$5,000); University Plaza (partnership distribution \$5,001-\$15,000; \$100,001-\$250,000); Dixie Assn. (partnership distribution \$5,001-\$15,000); Cardinal View (self: partnership distribution \$101-\$1,000—spouse: partnership distribution \$2,501-\$5,000); Alpha I Cinema (spouse: partnership distribution \$101-\$1,000; \$5,001-\$15,000); Borg-Warner leasehold build-

(continued)

Financial Disclosure In Congress



(unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Derwinski, Edward J., R-III.: Central Illinois Public Service (dividends \$101-\$1,000; \$1,001-\$5,000).

Price, Melvin, D-III.: Texas Utilities (dividends \$101-\$1,000; capital gains \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Rostenkowski, Dan, D-III.: Illinois Power (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Simon, Paul, D-III.: Pacific Gas and Electric (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Taylor, Gene, R-Mo.: Empire District Electric (dividends \$101-\$1,000); Ohio Edison (dividends \$101-\$1,000).

REAL ESTATE, CONSTRUCTION

Annuizio, Frank, D-III.: Commercial property in Ill. (rent \$15,001-\$50,000; \$100,001-\$250,000; liabilities \$15,001-\$50,000); unimproved land in Ill. (\$100,001-\$250,000).

Bolling, Richard, D-Mo.: Mortgage held (interest \$5,001-\$15,000; mortgage \$100,001-\$250,000); residential rental property in French West Indies (rent \$1,001-\$2,500; \$115,002-\$300,000).

FINANCIAL HOLDINGS (continued)

ing (spouse: partnership distribution \$50,001-\$100,000; \$15,001-\$50,000); Palm Springs Properties (spouse: partnership distribution \$2,501-\$5,000; \$5,001-\$15,000); Union Tank Car leasehold building (spouse: partnership distribution \$2,501-\$5,000; \$50,001-\$100,000).

TRANSPORTATION

Annunzio, Frank, D-III.: Chicagoland General Tire Co. (spouse \$15,000-\$50,000).

Crane, Daniel B., R-III.: Continental Airlines (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); American Airlines (stock \$1,001-\$5,000); USAir (stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Mayflower (stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Price, Melvin, D-III.: Missouri Pacific (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Railsback, Tom, R-III.: Garwood-Chicago Truck Equipment (spouse: director; director's fee \$1,001-\$5,000; interest \$101-\$1,000).

Taylor, Gene, R-Mo.: Liquid Transporters (dividends \$101-\$1,000; capital gains \$2,501-\$5,000); Gene Taylor Ford Sales (stock \$50,001-\$100,000).

TRUSTS

Skelton, Ike, D-Mo.: Trust (spouse and dependent children: uncategorized trust assets, over \$100,001).

WHOLESALE, RETAIL, SERVICES

Bailey, Wendell, R-Mo.: Wendell Bailey Auto Co. (proprietor; over \$250,000).

Collins, Cardiss, D-III.: Federated Department Stores (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000); J.C. Penney (unspecified dividends; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Emerson, Bill, R-Mo.: William Emerson and Associates (president, vice president and treasurer; salary \$31,050; dividends \$2,501-\$5,000).

Findley, Paul, R-III.: Quality Inns (dividends \$101-\$1,000; capital gains \$101-\$1,000).

Michel, Robert H., R-III.: Towne House Motel (director).

Rostenkowski, Dan, D-III.: GST Laboratories (stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

SENATE AGRICULTURE, FOOD INDUSTRY

Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: Olivia and Associates (general partner; \$5,001-\$15,000); family farm (gross income from hay sales \$2,053; gross income from pasture rentals \$101-\$1,000); Ralston Purina (dividends \$15,001-\$50,000; stock, over \$250,000; holding in trust, income distribution, over \$225,005; over \$1,456,001); surrey and livestock on Phelps County, Mo. farm (\$1,001-\$5,000); Philip Morris (holding in trust, stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

Dixon, Alan J., D-III.: Prairie State Food (income \$13,306); W.A. Hitchcock Ltd. and Vincent Sauget (interest \$202-\$2,000); Anheuser Busch (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Q.C. Enterprises (note receivable \$50,001-\$100,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-III.: Family farms (spouse: income in excess of \$1,000); A.E. Staley Manufacturing (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); American Sugar (interest \$101-\$1,000; \$5,001-\$15,000); Philip Morris (interest \$1,001-\$2,500; \$5,001-\$15,000); farm land in Ill. and Iowa (over \$450,002).

BANKS, FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: Crocker National (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); First Alabama Bancshares (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000); First International Bancshares (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000).

Dixon, Alan J., D-III.: Citicorp (interest \$1,001-\$2,500; bonds \$15,001-\$50,000).

Eagleton, Thomas F. D-Mo.: First Hawaiian (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-III.: Arizona Bank of Phoenix (dividends \$2,501-\$5,000; stock \$100,001-\$250,000); First Bank System (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Harris Bankcorp (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; capital gains \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); United Bancorp Arizona (dividends \$5,001-\$15,000; stock \$100,001-\$250,000); Valley National Bank (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$101-\$1,000); Citicorp (stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Western Bancorp (stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Frontenac Ill Corp. \$100,001-\$250,000).

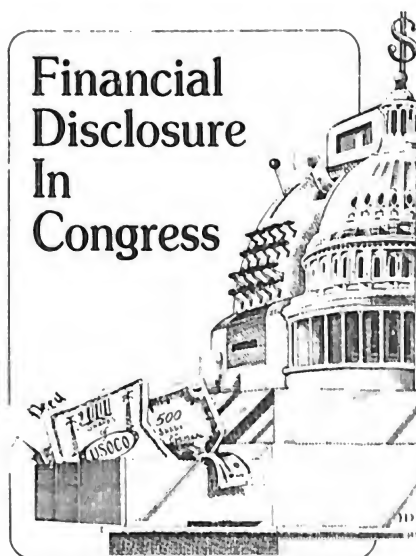
CHEMICALS

Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: Lubrizol (holding in trust, stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Dow Chemical (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Economics Laboratory (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-III.: Dow Chemical (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; capital gains \$15,001-\$50,000; stock \$20,002-\$65,000).

COMMUNICATIONS, ELECTRONICS

Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: Warner Communications (holding in trust, stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Prime Computer (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Intel (holding in trust,



stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Digital Equipment (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000).

Eagleton, Thomas F., D-Mo.: Times Mirror (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); NCR Corp. (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Burroughs (stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Intel (stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Warner Communications (stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Digital Equipment (stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Schlumberger (dividends \$101-\$1,000; \$15,001-\$50,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-III.: Bell and Howell (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); SFN (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$100,001-\$250,000); Scott Foresman and Co. (dividends \$101-\$1,000); Times Mirror (dividends \$2,501-\$5,000; stock \$50,001-\$100,000); Time (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Warner Communications (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$100,001-\$250,000); Harris Intertype (interest \$101-\$1,000; \$1,001-\$5,000); Pacific Telephone and Telegraph (interest \$101-\$1,000; \$5,001-\$15,000); Columbia Pictures (stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Cox Broadcasting (stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Digital Equipment (stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Intel (stock

\$50,001-\$100,000); Wang Laboratories (stock \$50,001-\$100,000); R.D. Percy and Co. (\$100,001-\$250,000; loan \$50,001-\$100,000); Schlumberger (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$50,001-\$100,000).

SENATE

DEFENSE CONTRACTORS

Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: American Telephone and Telegraph (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Tenneco (holding in trust, stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Atlantic Richfield (holding in trust, stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Exxon (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000); Royal Dutch Petroleum (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000); Hewlett-Packard (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000); General Electric (holding in trust, demand notes \$100,001-\$250,000); General Motors Acceptance Corp. (holding in trust, demand notes \$15,001-\$50,000; commercial paper \$5,001-\$15,000); Motorola (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000); Eastman Kodak (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000); International Business Machines (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000); Emerson Electric (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Eagleton, Thomas F., D-Mo.: General Electric (dividends \$101-\$1,000; capital gains \$2,501-\$5,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Motorola (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); International Business Machines (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; \$15,001-\$50,000); Eastman Kodak (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Honeywell (stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-III.: Atlantic Richfield (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Boeing (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Control Data (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$50,001-\$100,000); Exxon (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Hewlett Packard (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$100,001-\$250,000); Honeywell (dividends \$2,501-\$5,000; stock \$100,001-\$250,000); International Business Machines (dividends \$2,501-\$5,000; capital gains \$15,001-\$50,000; stock \$115,005-\$245,000); Mobil (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Motorola (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$100,001-\$250,000); Standard Oil of Indiana (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Texaco (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; capital gains \$2,501-\$5,000; stock \$16,002-\$55,000); Texas Instruments (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$50,001-\$100,000); American Telephone and Telegraph (interest \$1,001-\$2,500; \$5,001-\$15,000); Litton Industries (stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

INSURANCE

Eagleton, Thomas F., D-Mo.: Liberty National Life Insurance (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-III.: Alexander and Alexander Services (dividends \$2,501-\$5,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Corroon and Black (dividends \$5,001-\$15,000; capital gains \$15,001-\$50,000; stock \$65,002-\$150,000); Farmers Group Inc. (dividends \$2,501-\$5,000; capital gains \$15,001-\$50,000; stock \$65,002-\$150,000).

MANUFACTURING

Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: Interco (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$15,001-\$50,000; holding in trust, stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Sundstrand (holding in trust, stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Melville (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Avery International (holding in trust, stock

(continued on page 20)

FINANCIAL HOLDINGS (continued)

\$50,001-\$100,000); Norton Co. (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Fischer Scientific (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$100,000); Dana Corp. (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Caterpillar Tractor (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000); 3M Co. (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000).

Eagleton, Thomas F., D-Mo.: Missouri Pipe Fittings (vice president, treasurer and director; interest and dividends, over \$105,002; stock, over \$250,000; amount due on balance of account, over \$250,000); Donaldson (capital gains \$2,501-\$5,000; dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Deluxe Check Printers (dividends \$101-\$1,000; capital gains \$2,501-\$5,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); 3M Co. (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Raychem (stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Cooper Industries (stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-Ill.: Bristol Myers (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Donaldson (dividends \$2,500-\$5,000; stock \$50,001-\$100,000); H.B. Fuller Co. (dividends \$1001-\$2,500; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Jostens (dividends \$5,001-\$15,000; capital gains \$15,001-\$50,000; stock \$15,001-\$30,000); Smith International (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$50,001-\$100,000); Sullair (dividends \$15,001-\$50,000; capital gains, over \$100,000; stock, over \$495,006); Thomas and Betts Corp. (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); NuTrek (interest \$2,501-\$5,000; \$15,001-\$50,000); Avon Products (capital gains \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Envirotech (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; capital gains \$101-\$1,000; stock \$30,002-\$100,000); Caterpillar Tractor (\$5,001-\$15,000); Lear Sigler (stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Procter and Gamble (stock \$1,001-\$5,000); W.W. Grainger (stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

MEDICAL, PHARMACEUTICALS

Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: American Home Products (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000; holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Schering Plough (holding in trust, stock \$1,001-\$5,000); Baxter Travenol Laboratories (holding in trust, stock \$10,002-\$30,000); Syntex (holding in trust, stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Sterling Drug (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Upjohn (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000); Johnson (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Hospital Corp. of America (stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-Ill.: Baxter Travenol Laboratories (dividends \$101-\$1,000; capital gains \$5,001-\$15,000; stock \$50,001-\$100,000); Jack Eckerd Corp. (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); General Medical (dividends \$101-\$1,000; capital gains \$1,001-\$2,500); Eli Lilly (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; capital gains \$101-\$1,000; stock \$60,003-\$130,000); Merck (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Humana (stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

MINERALS, METALS, TIMBER

Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: International Paper (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Eagleton, Thomas F., D-Mo.: Homestake Mining (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Corning Glass Works (stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-Ill.: Amax (dividends \$101-\$1,000; capital gains \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Colt Industries (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$6,002-\$20,000); Georgia Pacific (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

OIL, GAS

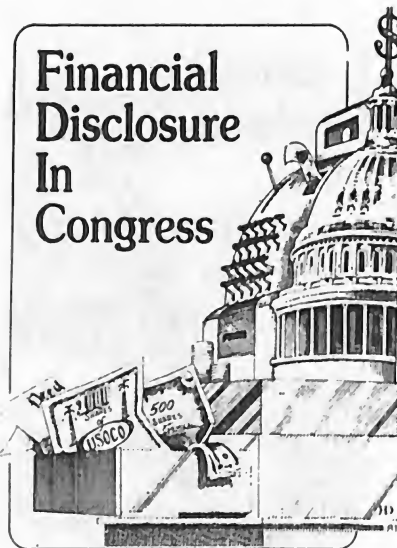
Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: Parker Drilling (holding in trust, stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Tide-

water Inc. (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000); oil and gas property interests (holding in trust \$15,001-\$50,000); Pennzoil (holding in trust, stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Baker International (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000); Natomas Co. (holding in trust, stock \$100,001-\$250,000).

Dixon, Alan J., D-Ill.: Halliburton (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Eagleton, Thomas F., D-Mo.: Columbia Gas System (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Halliburton (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Cities Service (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Ocean Drilling and Exploration (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Inexco (\$15,001-\$50,000); Zapata (stock \$5,001-\$15,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-Ill.: American Natural Resources (dividends \$101-\$1,000; capital gains \$2,501-\$5,000; stock \$10,002-\$30,000); Cities Service Co. (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Columbia Gas System (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Halliburton (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$100,001-\$250,000); Inexco Oil (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$65,002-\$150,000); Mapco (dividends \$1,001-\$2,500; stock \$50,001-\$100,000); Marathon Oil (dividends \$2,501-\$5,000; interest \$2,501-\$5,000; \$15,001-\$50,000; stock \$100,001-\$250,000); Pioneer



Corp. Texas (dividends \$2,500-\$5,000); Enserch Corp. (interest \$1,001-\$2,500; \$15,001-\$50,000); Conoco (stock \$100,001-\$250,000); Gearhart Industries (stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Ocean Drilling and Exploration (stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Pioneer Corp. (stock \$100,001-\$250,000); Standard Oil of Ohio (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

POWER, LIGHT

Percy, Charles H., R-Ill.: Southern California Edison (interest \$101-\$1,000; \$1,001-\$5,000); Texas Utilities (stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

REAL ESTATE, CONSTRUCTION

Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: Parsons Corp. (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000); Kaiser Cement (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Dixon, Alan J., D-Ill.: Residential rental property in Ill. (rent \$2,501-\$5,000; \$15,001-\$50,000; note receivable \$5,001-\$15,000); commercial property in Ill. (rent \$1,001-\$2,500; \$100,001-\$250,000); unimproved land in Ill. (capital gains \$5,001-\$15,000; \$5,001-\$15,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-Ill.: Michigan City Enterprises joint venture (income \$7,100; \$100,001-

\$250,000); Lone Star Industries (interest \$101-\$1,000; \$5,001-\$15,000); SB Partners (capital gains \$15,001-\$50,000; \$50,001-\$100,000); unimproved land in Ill. (spouse: \$65,002-\$150,000).

TRANSPORTATION

Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: Roadway Express (holding in trust, stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Eagleton, Thomas F., D-Mo.: Federal Express ((stock, \$15,001-\$50,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-Ill.: Santa Fe Industries (dividends \$2,501-\$5,000; stock \$100,001-\$250,000).

TRUSTS

Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: Blind trust (income distribution over \$100,000); trusts (uncategorized trust assets \$160,012-\$405,000).

WHOLESALE, RETAIL, SERVICES

Danforth, John C., R-Mo.: Wal-Mart Stores (holding in trust, stock \$50,001-\$100,000).

Dixon, Alan J., D-Ill.: Dixon Travel Bureau (self: partner; income \$28,272; over \$250,000—spouse: income in excess of \$1,000); Yorktown Gold Club (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$1,001-\$5,000).

Eagleton, Thomas F., D-Mo.: Dun and Bradstreet (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Percy, Charles H., R-Ill.: Holiday Inns (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); R.H. Macy and Co. (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$5,001-\$15,000); Safety-Kleen (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000); Montgomery Ward (interest \$101-\$1,000; \$5,001-\$15,000); Material Systems (stock \$15,001-\$50,000); H and R Block (dividends \$101-\$1,000; stock \$15,001-\$50,000).

Congressional Quarterly

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CHECKLIST: How did your Congressmen vote?

The following U.S. Senate and U.S. House Votes were cast during the 97th Congress, First session (1981)

KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN DESCRIPTION OF BILLS

D: Democrat
R: Republican
HR: House Bill
S: Senate Bill
H Res: House Resolution
ND: Northern Democrats

SD: Southern Democrats
HJ Res: House Joint Resolution

KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN VOTING COLUMNS

Y: Votes for (yea)
#: Paired for
+: Announced for
-: Announced against
N: Voted against (nay)
X: Paired against
?: Did not vote or otherwise make a position known

SENATE

(1) **HR 1553 Debt Limit Increase.** Passage of the bill to increase the public debt limit to \$985 billion through Sept. 30, 1981. Passed (thus cleared for the president) 73-18: R 46-3; D 27-15 (ND 20-7; SD 7-8), Feb. 6, 1981. A "yea" supports the president.

(2) **S 573. Oil Industry Antitrust Exemption.** Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, amendment to nullify President Reagan's Jan. 28 order terminating immediately all remaining controls on oil and gasoline. Rejected 24-68: R 3-47; D 21-21 (ND 18-10; SD 3-11), March 10, 1981. A "nay" supports the president. (The bill, to extend through Sept. 30, 1981, antitrust exemptions for oil companies participating in the programs of the International Energy Agency, subsequently was passed by voice vote.)

(3) **S Con Res 9. School Lunches.** Sasser, D-Tenn., amendment to lessen cuts recommended by the Budget Committee by restoring \$181 million in fiscal 1982 budget authority and \$200 million in fiscal 1982 outlays for the school lunch program. Rejected 35-54: R 2-47; D 33-7 (ND 25-2; SD 8-5), March 27, 1981. A "nay" supports the president.

(4) **S Con Res 9. Higher Education.** Moynihan, D-N.Y., amendment to lessen cuts recommended by the Budget Committee by restoring \$150 million in fiscal 1982 budget authority and \$100 million in fiscal 1982 outlays for higher education grant program. Rejected 30-67: R 0-53; D 30-14 (ND 25-4; SD 5-10), March 31, 1981. A "nay" supports the president.

(5) **S Con Res 9. Elementary & Secondary Education.** Moynihan, D-N.Y., amendment to lessen cuts recommended by the Budget Committee by restoring \$600 million in fiscal 1982 budget authority and \$435 million in fiscal 1982 outlays for elementary and secondary education programs. Rejected 33-65: R 1-52; D 32-13 (ND 25-5; SD 7-8), March 31, 1981. A "nay" supports the president.

(6) **S Con Res 9. Lessen Budget Cuts.** Chafee, R-R.I., amendment to lessen cuts recommended by the Budget Committee by restoring \$1.2 billion in fiscal 1982 budget authority and \$973 million in fiscal 1982 outlays to various committees for elementary and secondary education, low-income fuel aid, urban development action grants, urban mass transit, community health centers and the energy weatherization program. Rejected 40-59: R 11-42; D 29-17 (ND 26-5; SD 3-12), March 31, 1981. A "nay" supports the president.

(7) **S Con Res 9. Preventive Health Program.** Kennedy, D-Mass., amendment to lessen cuts recommended by the Budget Committee by restoring \$150 million in budget authority and \$125 million in outlays in fiscal 1982 for preventive health program. Rejected 36-62: R 2-51; D 34-11 (ND 27-3; SD 7-8), April 1, 1981. A "nay" supports the president.

(8) **S Con Res 9. Youth Training Program.** Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, amendment to lessen cuts recommended by the Budget Committee by restoring \$400 million in budget authority and \$300 million in outlays in fiscal 1982 for youth training programs. Rejected 24-74: R 0-53; D 24-21 (ND 20-10; SD 4-11), April 1, 1981. A "nay" supports the president.

(9) **S Con Res 9. Child Immunization.** Bumpers, D-Ark., amendment to lessen cuts recommended by the Budget Committee by restoring \$6 million in budget authority and \$6 million in outlays in fiscal 1982 for child immunization program. Rejected 44-54: R 2-50; D 42-4 (ND 30-1; SD 12-3), April 2, 1981.

(10) **S Con Res 9. Unemployment Insurance.** Riegle, D-Mich., amendment to lessen cuts recommended by the Budget Committee by restoring \$285 million in outlays for fiscal 1983 for the Finance Committee unemployment insurance program. Rejected 38-60: R 4-48; D 34-12 (ND 28-3; SD 6-9), April 2, 1981. A "nay" supports the president.

(11) **S Con Res 9. Fuel Subsidy.** Biden, D-Del., amendment to lessen cuts recommended by the Budget Committee by restoring \$400 million in budget authority and outlays for fiscal 1982 for fuel subsidy program for low-income Americans. Rejected 37-61: R 8-44; D 29-17 (ND 24-7; SD 5-10), April 2, 1981. A "nay" supports the president.

(12) **S Con Res 9. Juvenile Justice Program.** Kennedy, D-Mass., amendment to lessen cuts required by the Budget Committee by restoring \$116 million in budget authority and \$13 million in outlays in fiscal 1982 for juvenile justice program. Rejected 26-72: R 1-51; D 25-21 (ND 23-8; SD 2-13), April 2, 1981.

(13) **S Con Res 9. Youth Training Program.** Chiles, D-Fla., amendment to lessen cuts recommended by the Budget Committee by restoring \$100 million in budget authority and \$80 million in outlays for fiscal 1982 for youth training program. Rejected 46-52: R 5-47; D 41-5 (ND 30-1, SD 11-4), April 2, 1981.

(14) **S Con Res 9. Budget Adopted.** Adoption of the reconciliation resolution to instruct 14 Senate authorizing and appropriations committees to cut \$36.9 billion from fiscal 1982 spending. Adopted 88-10: R 51-1; D 37-9 (ND 22-9, SD 15-0), April 2, 1981. A "yea" supports the president.

(15) **S 694. MX Research Sustained.** Tower, R-Texas, motion to table (kill) the Pressler, R-S.D., amendment to delete \$7 million for research related to the MX missile. Motion agreed to 79-15: R 44-6; D 35-9 (ND 20-9, SD 15-0), April 7, 1981.

(16) **S 694. Reactivate Battleship.** Tower, R-Texas, motion to table (kill) the Bumpers, D-Ark., amendment to bar use of funds for reactivation of the battleship *New Jersey*. Motion agreed to 69-23: R 45-5; D 24-18 (ND 12-16, SD 12-2), April 7, 1981. (Story, p. 629)

(17) **S Con Res 19. Fiscal 1982 Budget Targets.** Kennedy, D-Mass., amendment to provide an additional \$400 million in budget authority and outlays in fiscal 1982 for school lunch and other child nutrition programs, to be offset by unspecified cuts in other areas. Rejected 29-58: R 1-46; D 28-12 (ND 25-3, SD 3-9), May 8, 1981.

(18) **S Con Res Mass Transit, Student Loans.** Moynihan, D-N.Y., amendment to reduce funding for water projects by \$200 million in budget authority and outlays in fiscal 1982, and increase funding for mass transit and guaranteed student loan programs by \$100 million in budget authority and outlays each. Rejected 30-55: R 9-36; D 21-19 (ND 19-9, SD 2-10), May 11, 1981.

(19) **S Con Res Defense Cut, Social Program Increase.** Riegle, D-Mich., amendment to add \$2.2 billion in budget authority and \$1.8 billion in outlays in fiscal 1982 for mass transit, community development, education and training, low income energy assistance, and other social programs, to be offset by equivalent reductions in defense programs. Rejected 17-81: R 2-50; D 15-31 (ND 14-17, SD 1-14), May 12, 1981.

(20) **HR 3512. Soc. Sec. Cuts Supported.** Hatfield, R-Ore., motion to table (kill) the Moynihan, D-N.Y., amendment stating the sense of the Senate in opposition to President Reagan's proposed reductions on Social Security benefits. Motion agreed to 49-48: R 48-2; D 1-46 (ND 0-32, SD 1-14), May 20, 1981. A "yea" supports the president.

(21) **HR 3512. Nerve Gas Weapon Upheld.** Hatfield, R-Ore., motion to table (kill) the Warner, R-Va., amendment to provide \$20 million to equip a factory to produce lethal nerve gas weapons (called binary munitions). Motion rejected 48-50: R 21-31; D 27-19 (ND 22-10, SD 5-9), May 21, 1981. A "nay" supports the president. (The Warner amendment subsequently was agreed to by voice vote.)

(22) **HR 3512. Food Stamps, Child Nutrition.** Abdnor, R-S.D., amendment to add \$538 million for the food stamp program and \$110 million for child nutrition programs. Adopted 50-45: R 24-28; D 26-17 (ND 22-8, SD 4-9), May 21, 1981.

(23) **S Con Res 19. Cut Legal Services Funds.** Hatch, R-Utah, amendment to delete \$100 million in budget authority and budget outlays for fiscal 1982 from the administration of justice function in order to delete funds for the Legal Services Corp. Rejected 24-72: R 20-32; D 4-40 (ND 2-28, SD 2-12), May 7, 1981.

(24) **S 1197. Subsidized Housing Amendments.** Passage of the bill to reauthorize for two years housing and urban aid programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The bill provided \$17.8 billion for an additional 150,000 subsidized housing units annually in fiscal 1982 and 1983. Passed 65-24: R 47-0; D 18-24 (ND 8-22; SD 10-2), June 3, 1981.

(25) **S 1007. Food Stamps.** Symms, R-Idaho, amendment to require households to pay the food stamp issuing agency some of their own money, up to 30 percent of their income, in exchange for a larger value of food stamps. The amendment exempted very poor households and those containing an elderly or disabled member. Rejected 33-66: R 26-27; D 7-39 (ND 2-29; SD 5-10), June 10, 1981.

SENATORS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
MISSOURI																								
Danforth (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	
Eagleton (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	
ILLINOIS																								
Percy (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	
Dixon (D)	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	
SENATORS	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47
MISSOURI																								
Danforth (R)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
Eagleton (D)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS																								
Percy (R)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	+	+	−	N	Y	Y	N	Y	X	+
Dixon (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	−	+

26. S 1007. Food Stamps. McClure, R-Idaho, amendment to require that federal energy assistance payments be counted as income in determining a household's eligibility and benefits. Rejected 25-74: R 22-31; D 3-43 (ND 2-29, SD 1-14), June 10, 1981.

27. S 1007. Food Stamps. Melcher, D-Mont., amendment to delete from the bill the provision reducing to 6 years old, from 12 under existing law, the age of a child that exempts a parent from the program's work registration requirement. Rejected 30-64: R 3-49; D 27-15 (ND 21-7, SD 6-8), June 10, 1981.

28. S 1007. Food Stamps. Passage of the bill to extend the authorization for the food stamp program through fiscal 1985; to set annual spending ceilings of \$11.5 billion in fiscal 1981, \$10.9 billion in 1982, \$11.3 billion in 1983, \$11.3 billion in 1984 and \$11.8 billion in 1985, and to make numerous changes in order to reduce the cost of the program. Passed 77-17: R 37-15, D 40-2 (ND 27-1, SD 13-1), June 10, 1981.

29. S 1193. State Department Authorization/Infant Formula. Durenberger, R-Minn., amendment expressing congressional "concern" at the U.S. vote against the voluntary international code for marketing infant formula adopted May 21 by the World Health Organization. Adopted 89-2: R 47-2; D 42-0 (ND 29-0, SD 13-0), June 18, 1981. A "nay" supports the president. (The bill was subsequently passed on an 88-4 vote.)

30. S 951. Citizen Rights. Welcker, R-Conn., amendment, to the Helms, R-N.C., amendment, to ensure that the Justice Department and any federal court could act to enforce citizens' constitutional rights. Rejected 30-45: R 12-30; D 18-15 (ND 17-1, SD 1-9), June 19, 1981. (Final disposition of the Helms amendment to bar the Justice Department from bringing any legal action to require, directly or indirectly, school busing for racial balance was delayed until after the July 4 recess.)

31. S 1377. Child Services. Moynihan, D-N.Y., amendment to preserve parts of existing law that provided for separate, categorical programs of aid to states for the maintenance of welfare children placed in foster care, for child welfare services aimed at preventing the breakup of low-income families and for assistance to families adopting welfare children with special needs. Rejected 46-52: R 5-48; D 41-4 (ND 28-2, SD 13-2), June 23, 1981. A "nay" supports the president.

32. S 1377. Medicare for Fed. Employees. Forth, R-Del., amendment to delete a provision in order to retain Medicare as the primary payer of health insurance benefits for federal employees who are also covered by the Federal Employee Health Benefits program. Adopted 51-47: R 15-38; D 36-9 (ND 26-4, SD 10-5), June 25, 1981.

33. S 1377. Legal Services. Denton, R-Ala., appeal of the chair's ruling that the Denton amendment, to delete the \$100 million authorization for the Legal Services Corporation, was out of order because it was not germane. Ruling of the chair upheld 73-21: R 32-20; D 41-1 (ND 27-1, SD 14-0), June 25, 1981.

34. S 1377. Legal Services. Denton, R-Ala., amendment to establish a block grant to the states for legal services to the poor. Rejected 35-58: R 31-21; D 4-37 (ND 2-25, SD 2-12), June 25, 1981.

35. S 1377. Rape Victims. Mathias, R-Md., amendment to restore funds for grants for services to rape victims by striking a section of the bill repealing that section of the Mental Health Services Act. Rejected 43-52: R 13-39; D 30-13 (ND 24-4, SD 6-9), June 25, 1981.

36. S 1204. Noise Control Authorization. Kasten, R-Wis., amendment to retain federal noise control standards for newly manufactured motorcycles. Rejected 40-55: R 19-31; D 21-24 (ND 12-18, SD 9-8), July 14, 1981.

37. H J Res 268. Tax Indexing. Finance Committee Amendment to require, beginning in 1985, that individual income taxes be adjusted, or indexed, annually to offset the effects of inflation. Adopted 57-40: R 43-8; D 14-32 (ND 11-20, SD 3-12), July 16, 1981.

38. H J Res 268. Cut Corporate Taxes. Welcker, R-Conn., amendment to reduce the lowest corporate tax rate for small businesses in two steps—reducing the rate for income up to \$25,000 in 1982 from 17 percent to 16 percent and in 1983 to 15 percent; and cutting the rate for income between \$25,000-\$50,000 in 1982 from 20 percent to 19 percent and in 1983 to 18 percent. Adopted 92-0: R 49-0; D 43-0 (ND 30-0, SD 13-0), July 17, 1981.

39. S Res 179. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Policy. Adoption of the resolution calling on the president to confer with other nuclear supplier nations to consider such measures as a temporary moratorium on transfers of nuclear enrichment and reprocessing equip-

ment; develop with other nations a program to improve international safeguards on nuclear facilities; formulate a clear U.S. policy for improved international restrictions on nuclear trade; call for a prompt re-evaluation of world nuclear energy policy; and reaffirm U.S. policy to assist other countries, especially developing countries, in meeting their energy needs. Adopted 88-0: R 48-0; D 42-0 (ND 30-0, SD 12-0), July 17, 1981.

40. H J Res 268. Tax Cuts. Bradley, D-N.J., amendment to limit the personal income tax to one year and target the relief to persons with incomes of \$50,000 or less. Rejected 24-81: R 0-43; D 24-18 (ND 22-8, SD 2-10), July 17, 1981. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

41. H J Res 268. Heating Tax Credit. Kennedy, D-Mass., amendment to provide a home heating tax credit equal to a family's residential heating bill multiplied by one-half the inflation rate. Rejected 47-48: R 14-38; D 33-10 (ND 28-2, SD 5-8), July 27, 1981.

42. H J Res 268. Heating Tax Credit. Rudman, R-N.H., amendment to provide a home heating tax credit of up to \$200 that is the product of a family's heating expenditures multiplied by 40 percent of the inflation rate. Adopted 71-25: R 36-15; D 35-10 (ND 28-2, SD 7-8), July 28, 1981.

43. H J Res 268. Economic Report by President. Eagleton, D-Mo., amendment to require the president to submit to Congress each year a separate estimate of the outlays, revenues, surplus or deficit of Social Security trust funds and of all other government functions, along with an explanation of the economic assumptions upon which such estimates were based. Adopted 97-2: R 51-2; D 46-0 (ND 31-0, SD 15-0), July 29, 1981.

44. H J Res 268. Business Luncheons. Kennedy, D-Mass., amendment to reduce the allowable deduction for the cost of business meals to 50 percent, from 100 percent, effective Jan. 1, 1982. Rejected 12-87: R 4-48; D 8-39 (ND 7-25, SD 1-14), July 29, 1981.

45. HR 9882. Budget Reconciliation. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to revise existing laws to reduce federal outlays by \$35.1 billion in fiscal 1982 and a total of \$130.6 billion in fiscal 1982-84. The reconciliation measure affected about 250 federal programs. Adopted (thus clearing the measure for the president) 80-14: R 49-1; D 31-13 (ND 17-13, SD 14-0), July 31, 1981. A "yea" supports the president.

46. HR 4242. Retail Oil Tax Cut. Kennedy, D-Mass., motion to recommit to the conference committee the conference report on the tax cut bill with instructions to the Senate conferees to seek to reduce the revenue loss from certain crude oil windfall profits tax provisions. Rejected 20-55: R 5-37; D 15-18 (ND 12-10, SD 3-8), Aug. 3, 1981. A "nay" supports the president.

47. HR 4242. Tax Cuts. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to cut individual income tax rates by 25 percent across-the-board over 33 months; require that individual income taxes be adjusted, or indexed, annually to offset the effects of inflation, starting in 1985; allow accelerated depreciation for business investment in new assets; and provide special savings and investment incentives. Adopted 67-8: R 41-1; D 26-7 (ND 17-6, SD 9-1), Aug. 3, 1981. A "yea" supports the president.

HOUSE

(1) HR 3512. Abortion Funds. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to prohibit funds for federal employee health insurance policies that provide abortions. Adopted 242-155: R 144-32; SD 98-123 (ND 56-92, SD 42-31), May 13, 1981.

(2) HR 3520. Clean-Up Postponed. Waxman, D-Calif., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to grant the steel industry a three-year extension of the 1982 deadline for meeting national clean air standards. Motion agreed to 322-3: R 140-2; D 182-1 (ND 125-0, SD 57-1), May 28, 1981. A two-thirds majority vote (217 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. A "yea" supports the president.

3. H Con Res 115. Fiscal 1982 Budget Targets. Adoption of the resolution, as amended, to set budget targets for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1982, as follows: budget authority, \$764.5 billion; outlays, \$688.8 billion; revenues, \$657.8 billion; and deficit, \$31 billion. The resolution also revised binding budget levels for fiscal 1981 and directed House committees to cut back programs within their jurisdictions to save \$36.6 billion in outlays in fiscal 1982. Adopted 270-154: R 186-1; D 84-153 (ND 23-136, SD 61-17), May 7, 1981. A "yea" supports the president.

4. HR 3337. Youth Employment. Hawkins, D-Calif., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to extend youth employment programs authorized by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) through fiscal 1982. Motion agreed to 309-84: R 106-72; D 203-12 (ND 147-1, SD 56-11), June 2, 1981. A two-thirds majority vote (262 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

5. HR 3455. Chemical Munitions. Bonior, D-Mich., amendment to rescind \$3.15 million in the fiscal 1981 military construction appropriations (PL 96-436) to construct a manufacturing plant for binary chemical munitions. Rejected 135-220: R 30-129; D 105-91 (ND 96-33, SD 9-58), June 4, 1981.

REPRESENTATIVES 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

MISSOURI

Clay (D-1)	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Young (D-2)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	#
Gephardt (D-3)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Skelton (D-4)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Boiling (D-5)	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
Coleman (R-6)	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Taylor (R-7)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Balfey (R-8)	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Volkmer (D-9)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Emerson (R-10)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

ILLINOIS

Washington (D-1)	N	Y	N	?	?	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	P	Y	Y	N	N
Savage (D-2)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	?	N
Russo (D-3)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Derwinski (R-4)	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fary (D-5)	Y	?	N	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hyde (R-6)	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Collins (D-7)	N	Y	N	Y	#	X	Y	Y	X	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
Rostenkowski (D-8)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Yates (D-9)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Porter (R-10)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Annunzio (D-11)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Crane, P. (R-12)	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClory (R-13)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Erlenborn (R-14)	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	#	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Corcoran (R-15)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	+	#
Martin (R-16)	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	X	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
O'Brien (R-17)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Michel (R-18)	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rallsback (R-19)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Findley (R-20)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Madigan (R-21)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Crane, D. (R-22)	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Price (D-23)	N	?	N	?	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Simon (D-24)	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?	?

6. HR 3462. Anti-Busing. Collins, R-Texas, amendment to prohibit use of funds authorized under the bill to bring any legal action that could lead directly or indirectly to busing, other than to bus a student to the nearest school. Adopted 265-122: R 145-24; D 120-98 (ND 61-87; SD 59-11), June 9, 1981.

7. HR 3413. Neutron Weapon Supported. Weiss, D-N.Y., amendment to prohibit use of funds in the bill to develop or produce enhanced radiation (neutron) weapons. Rejected 88-293: R 10-157; D 78-136 (ND 73-71, SD 5-65), June 11, 1981.

8. H J Res 287. Infant Formula. Zablocki, D-Wis., motion to suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution expressing congressional "dismay" at the U.S. vote at a World Health Organization (WHO) assembly May 21, 1981, against a voluntary international marketing code for infant formula and urging the administration to notify WHO that the United States will cooperate fully in implementation of the code. Motion agreed to 301-100: R 85-83; D 216-7 (ND 151-2, SD 65-5), June 16, 1981. A two-third majority vote (268 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. A "nay" supports the president.

9. HR 3480. Limits Legal Services Corporation. Krammer, R-Colo., amendment to prohibit LSC funds from being used for personal services, advertisements, telegrams, telephone calls, letters or other devices to influence any local, state or federal agency decision, except where any of these actions related to a client's legal rights. The amendment also prohibited attempts to influence local, state or federal elected officials on legislation, referenda or initiatives. Adopted 271-141: R 179-3; D 92-138 (ND 35-120, SD 57-18), June 17, 1981.

10. HR 3480. Limits Legal Services Corporation. Willson, D-Texas, amendment to bar LSC lawyers from bringing class action lawsuits against federal, state or local governments under any circumstances. Adopted 241-167: R 158-23; D 83-144 & ND 24-127, SD 59-17, June 17, 1981.

11. HR 3480. Limits Legal Services Corporation. McDonald, D-Ga., amendment to prohibit Legal Services Corporation funds from being used in cases to "promote, defend or protect" homosexuality. Adopted 281-124: R 153-28; D 128-96 (ND 62-87, SD 66-9), June 18, 1981.

12. HR 3480. Legal Services. Sensenbrenner, R-Wis., amendment to prohibit lawyers in Legal Services Corporation program from giving legal advice on abortion laws. Rejected 160-242: R 118-60; D 42-182 (ND 24-131, SD 18-51), June 18, 1981.

13. HR 3480. Legal Services. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to prohibit Legal Services Corporation funds from being used in lawsuits brought against local school boards or any of their employees. Rejected

176-219: R 129-46; D 47-173 (ND 13-138, SD 34-35), June 18, 1981.

14. HR 3480. Legal Services Corporation. McClory, R-Ill., motion to recommit (thus effectively killing) the bill reauthorizing the Legal Services Corporation to the Education and Labor and Ways and Means committees for hearings on President Reagan's proposal to abolish the corporation. Motion rejected 165-221: R 134-41; D 31-180 (ND 2-140, SD 29-40), June 18, 1981.

15. HR 3480. Legal Services Corporation. Passage of the bill to reauthorize the Legal Services Corporation for fiscal 1982-83, at \$241 million annually. Passed 245-137: R 59-116; D 186-21 (ND 137-3, SD 49-18), June 18, 1981. A "nay" supports the president.

16. HR 3238. Public Broadcasting Authorization. Passage of the bill to authorize \$160 million in fiscal 1984 for public broadcasting, \$145 million in fiscal 1985 and \$130 million in fiscal 1986; to establish a formula for allocating the funds; and to allow an 18-month experiment to determine the impact of advertising on public broadcasting. Passed 323-86: R 102-81; D 221-5 (ND 149-1, SD 72-4), June 24, 1981.

17. HR 3982. Budget Reconciliation En Bloc. Latta, R-Ohio, amendments, considered *en bloc*, to strike parts of six titles of the bill recommended by the following committees—Agriculture; Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs; Education and Labor; Post Office and Civil Service; Science and Technology; and Ways and Means—and to substitute provisions endorsed by President Reagan. Adopted 217-211: R 188-2; D 29-209 (ND 3-157, SD 26-52), June 26, 1981. A "yea" supports the president.

18. HR 3982. Budget Reconciliation. Passage of the bill to revise existing laws to achieve budget savings in fiscal 1982-84 as ordered by the first budget resolution for fiscal 1982. Passed 232-193: R 185-5; D 47-188 (ND 11-148, SD 36-40), June 26, 1981. A "yea" supports the president.

19. HR 3519. Military/Law Enforcement Cooperation. Shaw, R-Fla., amendment, to the Judiciary Committee amendment to permit U.S. armed forces personnel to participate, under certain circumstances, in illegal drug seizures or arrests outside the land area of the United States. Adopted 248-168: R 153-32; D 95-136 (ND 35-118, SD 60-18), July 15, 1981.

20. HR 3519. Military/Law Enforcement Cooperation. Judiciary Committee amendment, as amended (see vote 19), to authorize the armed services to cooperate with civilian law enforcement officials in operations against drug smuggling. Adopted 362-49: R 164-22; D 198-27 (ND 138-9, SD 60-18), July 15, 1981. (The original Judiciary Committee amendment specified that the military could assist civilian drug enforcement officials but not make arrests or seize drugs).

21. HR 3519. F/A-18 Cancellation Rejected. Vento, D-Minn., amendment to prohibit use of funds in the bill for research, development, testing, evaluation or procurement of the F/A-18 fighter/attack aircraft. The amendment directed that the \$3.1 billion specified in the bill for the F/A-18 be made available instead for other Navy and Marine Corps aircraft programs. Rejected 101-316: R 13-172; D 88-144 (ND 70-85, SD 18-59), July 16, 1981. A "nay" supports the president.

22. H Res 177. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Policy. Adoption of the resolution calling on the president to: develop and implement a nuclear non-proliferation policy that would strengthen the barriers to the spread of nuclear weapons and prescribe concrete methods for restraint by all nuclear supplier nations; encourage nations to ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty; work to develop sanctions against nations that divert nuclear supplies from peaceful purposes into nuclear weapons; and fully implement the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978. Adopted 365-0: R 181-1; D 204-0 (ND 133-0, SD 71-0), July 17, 1981.

23. HR 4034. Uphold EPA Car Emission Control. Danenmeyer, R-Calif., amendments (considered *en bloc*) to prohibit the Environmental Protection Agency from spending funds to require states to implement or enforce programs for vehicle emission control inspection and maintenance. Rejected 177-184: R 119-43; D 58-141 (ND 23-111, SD 35-30), July 17, 1981.

24. HR 4035. Coal Demonstration Plant Retained. Weber, R-Minn., amendment to delete \$135 million earmarked for the solvent refined coal demonstration plant at Newman, Ky. Rejected 177-238: R 93-89; D 84-147 (ND 78-76, SD 6-71), July 22, 1981.

25. HR 4242. Tax Cuts. Passage of the bill to amend the Internal Revenue Service Code of 1954 by reducing individual income tax rates by 25 percent across-the-board over three years, indexing tax rates beginning in 1985 and providing business and investment tax incentives. Passed 323-107: R 190-1; D 133-108 (ND

64-97, SD 69-9), July 29, 1981. A "yea" supports the president.

26. HR 4121. Limited Abortion Funding. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to prohibit the use of funds under the Federal Employees Health Benefit Program for abortions, except when the life of the mother is endangered. Adopted 253-167: R 148-40; D 105-127 (ND 58-88, SD 47-29), July 30, 1981.

27. HR 4121. Racial Discrimination Upheld. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to prohibit the Internal Revenue Service from implementing or the courts from enforcing IRS regulations to deny tax-exempt status to private schools that discriminate against racial minorities, unless the court order or regulation was in effect prior to Aug. 22, 1978. Adopted 337-83: R 181-5; D 156-78 (ND 83-73, SD 73-5), July 30, 1981.

28. HR 4242. Tax Cuts. Rostenkowski, D-Ill., motion to suspend the rules and adopt the conference report on the bill to cut individual income tax rates by 25 percent across-the-board over 33 months; require that individual income taxes be adjusted, or indexed, annually to offset the effects of inflation, starting in 1985; allow accelerated depreciation for business investment in new assets; and provide special savings and investment incentives. Motion agreed to (thus clearing the measure for the president) 282-95: R 169-1; D 113-94 (ND 49-91, SD 64-3), Aug. 4, 1981. A two-thirds vote (252 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. A "yea" supports the president.

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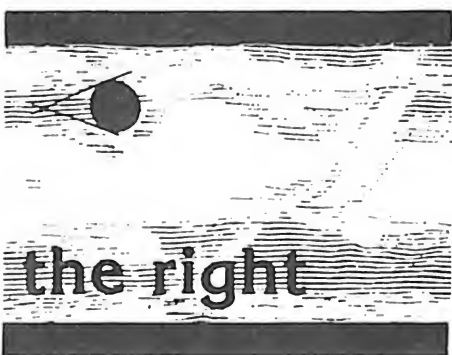
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MISSOURI

Clay (D-1)	Y	N	N	N	N
Young (D-2)	N	Y	Y	Y	#
Gephardt (D-3)	N	Y	Y	Y	#
Skelton (D-4)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bolling (D-5)	N	N	N	N	?
Coleman (R-6)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Taylor (R-7)	N	Y	Y	Y	#
Bailey (R-8)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Volkmer (D-9)	N	Y	?	?	Y
Emerson (R-10)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

ILLINOIS

Washington (D-1)	Y	N	N	N	N
Savage (D-2)	?	?	?	?	N
Russo (D-3)	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Derwinski (R-4)	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Fary (D-5)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hyde (R-6)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Collins (D-7)	Y	N	N	N	N
Rostenkowski (D-8)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Yates (D-9)	Y	N	N	N	N
Porter (R-10)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Annunzio (D-11)	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Crane, P. (R-12)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClory (R-13)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Erlenborn (R-14)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Corcoran (R-15)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Martin (R-16)	N	Y	N	?	Y
O'Brien (R-17)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Michel (R-18)	?	Y	Y	?	Y
Railsback (R-19)	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Findley (R-20)	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Madigan (R-21)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Crane, D. (R-22)	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Price (D-23)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Simon (D-24)	N	N	Y	N	?



Coalition for Peace Through Strength

The *Coalition for Peace Through Strength*, operated by the American Security Council, now claims 119 National member organizations and 269 Congressional members, according to a fund-raising letter signed by four of the latter, including Senator Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.), reputed to be President Reagan's closest friend on Capitol Hill.

Liberty Lobby

The Sept. 7 issue of *Spotlight*, the weekly tabloid of Liberty Lobby, the viciously anti-semitic organization, features John Rees as the "shadowy guru of the new right." Rees is Washington correspondent for the *John Birch Society* publications and closely connected with Congressman Larry McDonald (D-Ga.), a Birch Council member who employs Mrs. Rees. The article also goes into McDonald's tax-exempt foundation, *Western Goals*.

Morality in Media

Morality in Media, a New York monitor of movies, TV and magazines headed by Rev. Morton J. Hill, a Jesuit priest, has acquired the drawing power of Roger Staubach, the football hero, for fund-raising.

Expanding the operations, the group held a "town" meeting in St. Louis, (MO) late in October at which Hill spoke.

COMING UP:
PRISONS
AN
AMERICAN TRAGEDY

United States Industrial Council

In an attempt to "tell the American public the real story about how liberal over-regulation and monopoly unionism is destroying private enterprise in America," the United States Industrial Council (USIC) earlier this year began a sophisticated membership and fund-raising drive. Claiming to have been "instrumental in helping defeat the proposed consumer 'protection' agency, the last labor 'reform' bill and common-sense legislation," the USIC sent out its appeals from its headquarters in Nashville on the stationery of local member firms and over the signatures of the executive officers. (St. Louis businessmen received entreaties on the letterhead

of Stupp Bros. Bridge & Iron Co.) The USIC claims its pro-business radio programs are broadcast on 290 stations in 47 states.

United States Justice Foundation

A "public interest" law group—*United States Justice Foundation*—organized in 1979 to do battle on the conservative side, claims to have grown to over 50 attorneys available in 14 states. Headquartered at Escondido, California, the Executive Director is Gary G. Kreep, a National Director of Young Americans for Freedom; and another director of USJF is James V. Lacy, National YAF Chairman.

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